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HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

By the late

SAULOS NYIRENDA,*

of Karonga, Northern Province, Nyasaland.

Translated and edited by the

REV. T. CULLEN YOUNG, C.A., F.R.A.S.,

Livingstonia Mission of the Church of Scotland.

* NOTES BY THE AUTHOR'S BROTHER

- (1) Saulos Nyirenda was only a boy when the Henga left Muhuju for refuge.
- (2) When Kanyoli went to fight at Mwakatundu Saulos was still a boy for it was the same year they left Muhuju.
- (3) Kambondoma was killed at Mwaya the following year about March, therefore Saulos could not go with him for he was still a boy.
- (4) When the Europeans fought with the Henga at Kaporo Saulos was there.
- (5) Saulos was in one of those "malinga" stockades of Mlozi (the Arab leader).
- (6) When Mlozi was killed Saulos was teaching and he was with the Europeans when they went to fight with Mlozi.
- (7) Saulos did not go to Kondowe for boarding school but he only went in 1897 for acting teacher's school.
- (8) He joined the Telegraph Company in 1904.
- (9) He died in March 1925.
- (10) Saulos when he died was about 55 years old.
- (11) We belong to the family of *Mukwasi*. Our father was *Yasweka* the son of *Chiwela* the son of *Mujenje*.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In the year 1909, while stationed at Karonga at the north end of Lake Nyasa, I received by mail from down country a bulky packet containing a manuscript. It was written in a fairly good but quite unknown hand ; no name was given nor was any letter enclosed.

I had only been four years in Africa and my knowledge of the language was of the slightest. It was sufficient, however, to show that this was an attempt at the writing of History, while the handwriting seemed to imply that the author was an African. But at that period no one imagined that either the impulse or the ability to write History existed among the Natives of Northern Nyasaland. After events were to prove, however, that one man at any rate, had been fired with a desire to set down, while far away from his home at work, all he knew of his fathers and of their doings as well as of events in the more recent past of which he himself had knowledge.

The result is a manuscript, the main interest of which is that it represents a genuine effort at the writing of local History, not suggested by any European or in any way assisted or rewarded. The author, too, is a man who, not many years before, had been involved in the events connected with the arrival of the White man and the opening up of his Native country. There have since been books issued through the collaboration of European and African in Nyasaland ; notably "*The Yaos*" by the late Rev. Yohane Abdallah of the Universities Mission, and, quite recently, "*WaNyanja wa kale*" by the Rev. Laurence Chisui of the same Mission ; the latter untranslated, the former with translation and footnotes by Dr. Meredith Sanderson of the Nyasaland Administration. But the present work is from the hand of quite a different class of writer.

The author is one, Saulos Nyirenda, who died in 1925 at an age approximating to 55. He was, therefore, a man of about 40 when he sat down to write his story, and, at the time, he was a telegraphist in the service of the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Co., stationed at a point about 200 miles from his own home. Years after I had received the mysterious packet we met, and he told me that it was he who had done the work, "because" as he put it, "I was lonely for home and desired not to sit idle. Therefore I recalled all that I have heard of the old days for the sake of our children and for you Europeans."

The manuscript was written on a number of the very large blue Forms used by the Telegraph Company for its Monthly Returns. He

did not give me any reason for his having sent it to me and I am to this day ignorant as to what chance or coincidence brought it to my hands. That, however, is unimportant ; the main point is that we have here the earliest original story, chronologically arranged, regarding a large section of Nyasaland. It was written in the speech of the older generation by a solitary man in a squalid telegraphist's hut and owes its existence to no foreign impulse whatever.

The twenty years that have passed since the story was written have seen a marked change in the people's speech through travel, local admixture, and in certain instances, the action of recognised linguistic laws. So much is this the case, indeed, that the work of translation has been delayed again and again until I could find men or women of suitable age to help me with phrases that the present generation no longer uses. And not long after a serious beginning was attempted, Saulos Nyirenda died.

Shortly before his death, however, he had started to do for me a series of Notes on the old customs of his people, but these he did not complete. I do not think that anyone will dispute the right of Saulos Nyirenda to the eventual title of Father of History, so far as the Northern Province of Nyasaland is concerned. —T.C.Y.

A

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS AND HISTORY BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF NGONI AND ARAB

PREFACE

Are there many proper chiefs on this side (i.e. of the Lake)? I mean in the country as it stood before the Ngoni came to it. Because the Ngoni have come and spoiled this land, that is why its chiefs are disappearing, though the Europeans ask who is the principal chief, seeing that this one and that one says, "I am a chief in my own right." Nonsense! look here! in these parts the Native chiefs of the whole land, here and at the lake-shore and in the outer areas, are three. At Karonga the chief is Chungu right along the Lake. Then come on and in the centre it is Chikuramayembe, Chief of the land whose boundary with Chungu is at Chiwondo and with the chief of the Chewa, Kanyenda, is the Dwangwa River. It is Chikuramayembe¹ who is chief of this whole central area, a settled chief; Tonga country and Tumbuka country, Siska country and Phoka and Fulirwa recognise Chikuramayembe throughout. And for the Chewa it is Karonga and his son Kanyenda.²

Now with the coming of the Ngoni, look you! the chiefs were lost sight of. And seeing that in this and that area the chief was lost to sight when the Europeans make enquiries—since everyone loves authority, and the friendless as much as any—they are saying now that there is no big chief in their land. But Chikuramayembe knows all of them because he is the accepted overlord. Consider this; if you go across to the other side or to the Coast, if you come from Bandawe or from the Ngoni area or from Siska or Phoka or Henga, you will find the Coast people saying, "You have come from Nkamanga,"? and you, "Yes, I have come from Nkamanga." How do they know that all this part is Nkamanga? Because the paramount chief Chikuramayembe lives in Nkamanga, that is why they say that the whole land is Nkamanga, and furthermore, all the chiefs receive their chief's head-dress from Chikuramayembe of Nkamanga; for that reason all the districts receive the great name of Nkamanga.

But we praise the Europeans; look at to-day, the land is being put straight and the proper owners are being seen. Do you imagine that I would suggest that it is a proper thing that the people should be without a paramount chief? People say, "What sort of birth is yours without a proper chief in this country"? But it is nonsense; proper chiefs exist in the districts and Chikuramayembe knows them, he the over-lord above all in those districts. Anyone who rejects Chikuramayembe is an

¹For discussion as to origin of this name see Chap. 5 in my "Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples."

²Karonga, paramount chief of the southern area of Marave is not connected with the place name "Karonga" in Northern Nyasaland; that name being taken by a sub-chief at the north end of the Lake only a generation ago.

MARONJE.

Kasi charo chasilgha lino fumu zgenezinandi? Nkhunena pacharo chakwima waNgoni wandize mu charo chino. Chifukwa waNgoni walikwiza kananga charo chino, leka fumu zga charo chino zikuzgewa nanga waZungu wakupenja kuti kasi fumu yikuru nji?—apa uyo nayo wakuti, “ine nane ndiri fumu,” uyo nayo, “ndiri fumu pandeka.” Pauli; ahene, kuno fumu zgenecharo chose chino na chanyanja na muwaro, Fumu nzitatu. Pa Karonga, fumu yikuru ndi CHUNGU kuya mu nyanja yose ngwaChungu. Ndipo zaninge, pakati ndiyo CHIKURAMAYEMBE, fumu ya charo chose, mpaka na Chungu ndi Chiwondo, mpaka na fumu ya waChewa, Kanyenda, ndi Dwangwa. Nayo Chikuramayembe charo chose ichi chiri pakati apa, fumu wakukora ndiyo, charo cha uTonga, cha uTumbuka, cha uSiska, cha Phoka, cha Fulirwa, na fumu za mu Henga mose wakukora Chikuramayembe pera. Ndipo ku waChewa nako ndi KARONGA na mwana wake KANYENDA.

Ndipo skono, wati wiza waNgoni awo, wonani fumu zikazgewanga. Ndipo nanga mu charo chinji fumu yikuru yikuzgewa para waZungu wakufumba, chifukwa ufumu wakuutemwa wose na walanda wuwo, leka wakuti fumu yikuru palive pa charo chaŵo. Kwene Chikuramayembe wakuzimanya zgoze makora chifukwa ndiyo mwenecho wakukora. Ahene; nga uti uye pasilgha lila pakunji ku Mbwani, nga ufume ku Bandawe, pakunji ku uNgoni, pakunji ku uSiska, pakunji ku Phoka, pakunji ku Henga, tiusange wa ku Mbwani wali, “Mwafuma ku Nkhamanga?” nawe, “Inya, ndafuma ku Nkhamanga”; kasi iŵo wakumanya wuli kuti kose kuno ndi Nkhamanga? Chifukwa Fumunkhuru Chikuramayembe wakukhala ku Nkhamanga ndimo wakutiri charo chose sono ndi Nkhamanga, na kwenenako fumu zose zikupokerera mphumphu kwa Chikuramayembe wa ku Nkhamanga, leka naŵo, vyaro vyaŵo vikupokerera zina likhuru la Nkhamanga.

Kwene tikurumba waZungu; wonani skono, charo chikulunga pera, wenecho wa charo chaŵo wakuwoneka skono. Ha manyi ndatenge uku ndiko kunozga charo nthaula, mwa wanthu mureke kuŵa na fumunkhuru? wakuti mukababiwa wuliwuli muŵe waka fumu mose mucharo icho? Pauli; Fumu zikhuru ziri mumo mu vyaro wakuzimanya ndi Chikuramayembe, fumu ya pachanya pa wose mu vyaro ivyo. Uyo wakukana Chikuramayembe ndi mutesi nkhanira uyo pa charo icho skono; wanji wakuti wakumanya wuli mwakuti fumu ya pachanya

absolute liar he being over this land now ; others say, " How do you know that the over-lord is Chikuramayembe " ? If I did not know perfectly well how could I name all these old folk ? Let be ! I will narrate how we fled from the Ngoni and how they came into this present country of ours and how we went away to Kondeland and how we came to a disastrous end having come into the territory of the Chungu, if you say I am untruthful, my friends.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY ; OF NKAMANGA, TUMBUKA, HENGA AND TONGA AREAS.

Very long ago while the land stood undisturbed by the coming of the Ngoni who have unsettled it ; even while Chikuramayembe had still not arrived ; there existed the clan of Mwachanda simply : The Kamanga people, the Tumbuka, the Poka, the Hewe, the Senga, the Nyanjagha, the Nyika, the Lake Shore people, the Nyaruwanga who are the Tonga, the Nyirongo, the Chewa on this (i.e. the North) side of the Dwangwa ; all whom I have mentioned here were original-occupiers though it may be that there are some whom I have omitted.¹

THE ARRIVAL OF CHIKURAMAYEMBE.

Chikuramayembe arrived as an Arab in appearance. He came from the Coast with a lot of goods ; he had the black, awe-inspiring cloth we call " mamphina," and that we call " maharare " which dogs bark at, the " pigeon egg bead," the " ngoro to," the " maburungi," the " makalanje," the " munena," the " mbera," and also the shell ornament " mphan de." Those who came with him were Katumbi, Chiwulunta, Kajumba, Mwahenga, Mwalwene,² Jumbo, Mwamlowe, and Kabunduli, eight men who came with him ; they crossed the lake " on a plank."³

Chikuramayembe crossed with them at Mtawali and then proceeded to Nkamanga to look for ivory ; on reaching Nkamanga he found a country full of elephants. The Natives of the area were the Mwachanda clan ;⁴ they did not know that the elephant or ivory were things of value, they thought they were simply bones and consequently, though they killed the elephant, they merely used it as meat.

¹ The Nyanjagha, Nyaruwanga and Nyirongo are clans ; the other names are all locality names similar to our Highlander, Yorkshireman, or Shore-Dwellers.

² Mwalwene, head of the Harawa clan, perhaps should not be in this list.

³ This phrase probably indicates a " plank-built " dhow ; possibly the first of its kind and imitating the Zanzibar craft.

⁴ Mwachanda ; head of the Mkandawiri clan. One of the oldest clans now traceable.

pavyaro vyose ndi Chikuramayembe ? Apa ndileke kumanya makora, wâlala wose nkuwâzunula wuli ? Ha muleke ndandaule mumo tikachimbiriranga wâZowa, na mumu wakiziranga mu charo chitu muno, na mumu tikayiranga ku uNkhonde tawanyino, na mumu tilikuyakamalira uhene uhene, uko tikiza ku charo cha Chungu, para mukuti nkhuteta ine mwawanyani.

MAKANI GHA CHARO : KU NKAMANGA NA KU UTUMBUKA NA KU HENGA NA KU UTONGA.

Kale chomene kusanga pa charo chakwima kundize wayene awa walikutimbanizga charo, waNgoni ; nanga kukaŵanga wina Mwachanda pera, Chikuramayembe wandize ; waKamanga, waTumbuka, waPoka, waHewe, waSenga, waNyanjagha, waNyika, waNyanja, waNyaruwanga ndiwo waTonga, waNyirongo, waChewa Dwangwa sirya lino : wose awa ndazunula pano ndiwo wachata, panji awa ndaŵareka kuzunula waliko.

KWIZA KWA CHIKURAMAYEMBE.

Chikuramayembe akizanga nga ndi Mwarubu. Akafuma ku Mbwani na chuma chinandi ; akaŵa nazo saro zga mamphira zifipa zgakofya, zga maharare zga kubwenta nchewe, mazirankunda, ngoro to, maburungi, makalanje, munena, na mbera, na mphande. Awa akiza naŵo ndi Katumbi, Chiwulunta, Kajumba, Mwahenga, Mwalwene, Jumbo, Mwamlowe, Kabunduli, wantu wasanu na watatu awa wakisa naŵo ; ndiwo wamulowoka pa kapondo.

Chikuramayembe akambuka naŵo pa Mtawale ndiko kuyanga ka Nkamanga kupenja zovu minyanga ; wayekati pa Nkamanga wasanga charo chirikuzura na zizovu. Wenecharo wina Mwachanda ; zovu panji minyanga kuyimanya mwakuti nchuma chara, wakatenge viwangwa, nanga wakome wakaryangako nyama pera.

Now Chikuramayembe, when he arrived, said, "Bring those things here, those bones." They brought them to him and he said, "This is a thing of value." Then he opened his bales, tore of the cloth, laid it out and then bundled it in the baskets, took beads of one sort or another and placed them on the top, and took more cloth and made turbans of it on the heads of the headmen and said, "There you are ! is this not your chief ? "

And everywhere Chikuramayembe went with his people he put the cloth turban on the headmen's heads in order that the chiefs should be known. This was the fine-hearted way that Chikuramayembe came with to Nkamanga and spread over the whole country. Down to the Dwangwa and to the Senga country ; right to the Songwe, he began by doing this while buying ivory. The people used to bring other gifts in homage, lion skins and leopard skins he used to send to the Coast and bring back cloth ; in that way the Coast people and those on the east of the Lake called all on this side, Nkamanga, since the great chief Chikuramayembe had settled in Nkamanga and had his principal village there.

Now, therefore, when he saw that all the people recognised his authority to the extent of giving him honour as their own paramount chief, then he began to allocate districts for his followers who came from the Coast with him :—

Katumbi got all Hewe district and Senga country as far as Sitwe.¹

Kajumba got Senga country proper.

Chiwurunta got the Nyirongo and Tumbuka country ; it was he who used to install the Tumbuka headmen including a certain one whom he found there, viz. :—

Mwachirwa of the Upper Reaches ; he also used to be in authority over Tumbuka living higher up (i.e. higher up the river valleys which feed the main Nkamanga water system).

These were the senior chiefs over all Tumbuka country beyond the Rukuru.

Kabunduli was allocated the further side of the Lweya right down to the Dwangwa ; reaching also up into the grasslands (The Vipya Mts.)

¹Since the delimitation of the Nyasaland—N. Rhodesian border this area was cut in two and the chieftainship has likewise been split in two, but still in the original Chawinga clan, at Hewe and at Sitwe. Kajumba is now entirely in N. Rhodesia.

Skono Chikuramayembe wati wiza wali, “Zaninge navyo kuno viwangwa ivyo.” Ngaŵakwiza navyo kwa iyo wali, “Ichi nchuma.” Skono para ngawakusutula murimba wakuparura saro wakuzinyorora wakuzifunda mu vitete, wakutora mazirankunda na ngoloto na bulungi na kalanji na munena wakuwikamo muchanya, wakutora saru zinyake wakuzingizga nazo ku mitu zifumu zgenecharo, para wali, “Eso ; ha ndilo themba ili mwasa (sic) ? ” (? “mwesa.”)

Skono mose umo wakendanga Chikuramayembe na ŵantu ŵake fumu zgose kuzizingizga na saru ku mitu mwakuti fumu zimanyikwenge. Ndiwo wuchizi wakiza nawo Chikuramayembe pa Nkamanga nanga wakabenekerera charo chose. Kufika ku Dwangwa na ku uSenga ; kufika ku Lisongwe, pakudanga wakachita nteura wakaguranga zovu. Zinji ŵakathuranga na vipapa vya nkaramo na vya ntorome, wakatumi-zganga ku Mbwani saru zikizanga ; leka ŵa ku Mbwani na ŵa ku Mwera ŵakuti ku sirya lino kose nkuNkamanga, umo fumu yikuru Chikurama-wakakhalang yembea pa Nkamanga ndipo pakaŵa pa muzi ukuru.

Ntaula skono wakati wawona kuti ŵantu ŵose ŵakumulambira mwakuti yaŵa fumu yaŵo yikuru ŵamuchindika, ndipo wakamba kuga-wira ŵantu ŵake vyaro, aŵa ŵakafuma naye ku Mbwani—

Katumbi ; chaHewe na ku uSenga ku Sitwe :

Kaŵumba ; cha ku uSenga :

Chiwurunta ; cha uNyirongo na ŵaTumbuka ŵose ; ndiyo akako-ranga fumu zga uTumbuka, na munyake uyo akamusanga :—

Mwachirwa wa chiri kunena ; nayo wakakhalanga fumu zga u-Tumbuka ku chiri nena ; ndiŵo ŵakaŵa ŵarara ŵa fumu zgose zga uTumbuka, Rukuru sirya lira.

Kabunduli ; wakamugawira Lweya sirya lira kufika ku Dwangwa : kwiza muchanya ku vipya.

Mwahenga got the whole of the Henga plain.

Mwarwene got the Mpachi country but not Poka territory ; that remained in the hands of its original owners.

Jumbo got Chiweta down at the Lake.

Mwamlowe also down at the Lake and up into the mountains.

And the territory of the Tonga, the Nyaluwanga, on this side of the Lweya, was Mwachirwa with the knives in his armpits ;¹ . He also came from the Coast by himself with his own trade goods and it was he who broke off from Mkandawiri, “ who stood on valuable goods to keep away from mud ”² whose boundaries marched with Chiwurunta and who originally came with that Mwasi who is yonder at Kasungu.

You ask, “ Where did the name Chikuramayembe come from ” ? People gave it to him since when some Poka came to him he said, “ Chu-kuwamajembe ” (i.e. in kiSwahili, “ Carry hoes ”) and the Poka made it, “ Chikuramayembe ” ; it became a widely accepted name. But he himself had a name of his own.³

THE ARRIVAL OF KAWUNGA.

Kawunga also came as an Arab in appearance,¹ with a large quantity of trade goods, following Chikuramayembe for the purpose of trading in ivory. He crossed over at Virwa near Nkhata Bay and came into Mwachirwa's area and when Chikuramayembe heard, he divided off for him the country of Mt. Ntwezuru and all the Siska area. On the far side Manyerenyezi and on this side the little stream near the island at the Lake there (were the boundaries) ; and Kawunga himself settled at the top of Ntwezuru in the cold country.⁵

Then he used to call the people saying, “ Lete wunga,” which is to

¹ A Coastman's custom indicating original origin in the Swahili area.

² The Kandawiri used ivory instead of logs to raise their sleeping mats off the mud floor.

³ All enquiries have so far failed to discover what the name was.

⁴ That is, not an Arab, but dressed and looking like one.

⁵ Kawunga is the ancestor of the writer of these reminiscences.

Mwahenga ; cha Henga chose.

Mwarwene ; cha Mpachi.
(cha Phoka cha ; ncha mwene).

Jumbo ; cha Chiweta ku nyanja.

Mwamlowe ; nayo ku nyanja na ku Nyika.

Ndipo cha waTonga waNyaluwanga pakati Lweya sirya lino ndiyo *Mwachirwa wa vimayi vya mu nkwapu* ; naye akiza pa yeka kufuma ku Mbwani na chuma chake nayo, ndiwo wakapatukananga na *Mwakandawiri*, “ mukanda pa chuma pasi pakaŵa mtika,” uyo wakapakana na Chiwurunta ndipo pakafuma na Mwasi yura ali ku Kasungu

Imwe mukuti zina la Chikuramayembe likafuma nkhu ? wakamupa wantu chifukwa umo iyo akatenge para wiza waPhoka wakatenge, “ Chukuwa malembe,” skono waPhokŵ wali, “ Chikuramayembe ” ; lyawa zina lyakhonda. Kwani mwenecho akaŵa nalo zina lyake.

KWIZA KWA KAWUNGA.

Kawunga akiza nga ndi Mwarabu nayo na chuma chake chinandi chomene, kulondezga Chikuramayembe mwakuti izemugule minyanga ya zovu. Wakambukira pa Nkhata ku virwa, wakafikira kwa Mwachirwa, skono wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe wakamudumulira charo cha Lupiri Ntwezuru na uSiska wose : kura mpaka Manyerenyezi kuno nako kamronga kufupi na chirwa chira pa nyanja ; na skono mwenecho akakhalanga pachanya pa Ntwezuru mu charo cha mphepo.

Na skono wakacheremanga wantu wake kuti, “ Lete wunga,” ndiko

say, "Come with flour"¹ and then they said, (i.e. gave him the name) "This is the flour man"; and the name emerged, "Kawunga"! He also loved the Sango species of fish refusing all others and they did their homage to him with nothing but sango, His praise-names were:—

"Thin in body like the whitebait; prickly finned like the Chituwi; red-eyed like the Mere; long-nosed as the Ngolo; it was Sango from out in the deep water that they placed before Nyirenda."

"Ngolo nosed" means long nosed, "Usipa-stomached" means a thin body like the white-bait, "eyes like the Mere" means red-eyed, (or, "red-skinned.")

And he married many wives and increased prodigiously begetting numbers of children both boys and girls; they spread about there at Ntwezuru all over the place, and they were all red-skinned like their father.

And people said, "My word! these awful people increase like the nyirenda. (Those little caterpillars that you see sprawling in myriads all about the place). And now when they themselves heard of it they said, "We are now Nyirenda"; and this is how the Nyirenda clan came about.

Then when their father died some of them hived off, coming and building down in the Henga plain at Mzokoto. But though they built thus they did not acknowledge Chikuramayembe as their over-lord; they had their own "crowned" chief and did not do homage to Chikuramayembe or give a daughter of the House to be his wife; that was forbidden as unfitting.² The Nyirenda had his own turban of chieftainship as Chikuramayembe had his and they had known each other intimately where they had come from towards the Coast.

But the elder sons it was who came to Henga to Mzokoto and built three villages; one that of their great leader Kawunga and two others of his younger brothers.³

¹Although this immigration into Northern Nyasaland actually arrived from the direction of the Coast, this phrase is one of several indications that these travellers were of the western stock. The phrase is similar to chiBemba for "Bring flour."

²This is one of the few points at which the writer probably exalts his own clan unduly. Kawunga had received his lands at the hand of Chikuramayembe, as the writer here himself admits.

³The villages of deceased headmen continue in being and in name.

kuti “Zani na wufu,” na skono wantu wali, “Chakawunga”; lyawa zina Kawunga. Ndipo akatemwanga somba za sango, somba zgose akalemanga, wakamuthuliranga sango pera. Vithantauro vyake wakatenge:—

“Cha katumbu cha usipa; chituwi chakusonyora; cha maso nga ndi mere; cha mpuno nga ndi ngolo; sango za pa ruji za kwawika Nyirenda.”

“Wa mpuno nga ndi ngolo,” ndiko kuti wa mpuno yitali; “wa katumbu ka usipa,” ndiko kuti pamoyo pachokowaka nga mbusipa; “wa maso nga ndi mere,” ndiko kuti wa maso hakuchesama.

Ndipo akatora wanakazi wanandi chomene ndiposo akandana chomene; wakababa wana wanandi anarume na wanakazi; wakati waka mu Ntwezuru kwa. . . . ! Napo wakawanga waswesi pera wakakhozganga mwene wiskewo.

Ndipo wantu wakati, “Acha! viwantu vikwandana nga ntunyirenda.” (Tunyirenda wakunena twabongololo tuchoko-tuchoko tura tukuti pasi tapatapa nyirikiti). Skono wakapulike wene wali, “Tili wanyirenda skono”; ndimo umo skono wali ku uNyirenda.

Skono wati wafwa wiskewo ndimo wanyakhe kupatukananga, kwizanga charo cha ku Henga ku Muzokoto kuzenganga. Kweni nanga wazenge ntaura kuti fumu yikuru Chikuramayembe kuti akawakoranga ufumu cha; mphumpu yawo wekha kulamba; kulamba kwa Chikuramayembe cha; ndi muziro. Panji kupereka muwoli ku fumu yikuru cha. MbaNyirenda nawo ntaura pa mphumpu yawo, wekha nawo; wenecho wakamanyananga chomene uko wakafumanga ku Mbwani yawo.

Ndipo kweni, wana wakhe walara ndiwo wakiza ku Henga ku Muzokoto wazenga vikaya vitatu; chikaya chinyakhe mwene mukuru yawo Kawunga, vikaya viwiri wanung'una wakhe.

And there it was that one day a man from Chikuramayembe's came as a strolling musician. When dancing he played on the stringed Chiding'indi and the headman said, "The fellow can play!" and would have made him a present of some goods but he refused; "Perhaps he may take these . . .", but no! everything he refused.

Then the Nyirenda said, "What is it you are after?" and he simply went on playing. Then the chief called up one of his free-born wives and as she knelt, there and then he took his ornamental axe of ceremony, whack! and the wife lay dead. Then he said, "Rub in the blood on the ground, you people"; and when the man who had been dancing saw the people polishing the ground¹ with the blood of the slain woman, off he ran to Chikuramayembe and said, "If Chikuramayembe thinks that he rules the country he lies; the chief is that man at Mzokoto who kills and his people polish the ground with the blood."

At this, "What!" said Chikuramayembe, "Are they doing that? will they kill people here in my land?" and then, "Get ready for a fight; let the army get to it! you'll realise who is chief of all this land."

When the expedition reached Kawunga's it broke into the main village and got hold of the cattle, arrows flying and and some casualties; then the younger brothers heard in their villages and came running and pouring with sweat having brought their bows to where the fighters were at grips with their head-ringlets tossing—of course, everyone used to wear the mandamba ringlets; people didn't cut their hair then—; then the fight waged fierce and looking round to Chikuramayembe's side there was Chiwurunta on the ground. Saying, "Let us have a look," since it was a leading chief lay dying, it became a flight, those of the Kawunga side who remained followed to have a go at Chikuramayembe's fleeing army wherever they could be brought to a stand, reaching the Ruzi stream with them and some, indeed, crossing with them to the other side of the Rukuru.

Then they said, "We've had enough, Chief; we're tired killing, let us go back." And so they returned and reached their villages. Those Nyirenda were exceedingly ferocious. If you wound one in the body in a non-vital spot he comes at the man who wounded him with the ceremonial axe and strikes him down. That is what they were like, you must wound them on the nose and then they die quickly.

¹"Kukuruwa pasi" is the verb used for the polishing of the hut floors which used to be done by some with animal blood.

Ndimo mura para, muntu wakafuma kwa Chikuramayembe wiza-mukuwomba. Para wanda kuvina wakalizganga chiding'indi, para themba liri, "Muntu wanozga viwi," litore chuma lipereke akukana; "atore ivi kwale," akukana ndipera; vyose wakana.

Para themba wali, "Kasi kupenjachi?" muntu uyo akulizga wuwo. Para ngalikuchema muwoli musanu wakhe; para musanu ngawakujikama pasi, para themba ngalikutora mbavi chimbichumbi, mu musanu wayu. .! Musanu ngawakufwa. Para themba liri, "Mwa wantu, kuruwaninge pasi ndopa"; akawonenge muntu yura wakavinanga uku wantu wakuru-ruwa ndopa zga muntu wakufwa pasi, ngawakuchimbira wakafika kwa Chikuramayembe wali, "Nanga waChikuramayembe wakuti ndi fumu, wakuteta; fumu ndiyi yiri pa Muzokoto yikukoma wantu wakuruwenge pasi ndopa."

Chikuramayembe, "Iki! ka nga ndimo wachitirengeso? wakome-nge wantu muno mu charo chane?" Skono ndiyo, "Kumbaninge ndondo!" Ndiyo, "Nkondo wiwe! namwe mumanyenge themba likuru lya charo chose."

Para ngayikufika nkondo pa Kawunga yanjira mu muzi wa mwene, ng'ombe zgayoleka, uku yakorana mivwi mu chukupu-chukupu yikula-sana; wakupulikenge wanung'una wakhe mu vikaya viwiri waghayora mauta wiza mavuchi muno yakorana mandamba muyatuyatu—napo wakawanga na mandamba wose, kuti masisi wakametanga chara—yakorana ndizungulikenge kwa Chikuramayembe, fumu Chiwurunta wali pasi. Wakuti, "Tikawonenge"; mwakuti fumu yikuru Chiwurunta wafwa, kwa wa mbii. .! yachimbira nkondo ya Chikuramayembe, wina Kawunga wasyerapa wakwendakakosora wima, kuya na wo mu Ruzi; waji wakambuka na wo Rukuru kwiza musirya.

Ndipera para, wali, Ndipera skono, Tata; kukoma vyalema, tiwereko"; ndipera ngawakuwerako kwiza ku kaya zga wo; chifukwa wantu a wa Nyirenda waka wa wakali chomene. Para wamulasa na muvwi pa thupi lya waka wakwiza wogho na mbavi ya chimbichimbi uyo wamulasa mbavi yose, nkha. .! Ndimo wakatirenge, muwalasenge pa mpuno ndipo wakufwa ruwiro.

So when they returned they came singing,
 "That which was fierce has been tamed,"
 Dancing and saying,
 "Mwene! Mwene!"¹

And so Chikuramayembe gave up any constant quarrelling with the Nyirenda.

Should you hear that there are many Nyirenda in the Kasungu area they are those who fled when the Ngoni settled at Choma; they left Ntwezuru area where the clan had multiplied.

And the Nyirenda in the Dowa area, Chiwere captured at Ntwezuru. That is the Nyirenda clan.

THE STORY OF CHIKURAMAYEMBE, THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF.

When the first Chikuramayembe died, they installed his son, and as it happened he only had one son; the daughters were numerous.

So when they installed this son he it was who reigned for a very long time and was honoured to the same extent as his father and he too died a very old man.²

Then they elevated a nephew of his named Kampungu and placed him in power, he also having a nephew called Chimundavwa. And this man was exceedingly fierce as was also his nephew and it is he who reduced the territory,³ going down to the Dwangwa to cut the baobab trees with axes so that the boundary would be known, with Kanyenda the Councillor of Karonga the paramount chief of the Maravi country, who came in the same company from the Coast at the crossing of the Lake and separated from his relative who went on to Maravi, and they together agreed on the boundary Dwangwa. Now⁴ it was he whom Kampungu remembered and made up his mind that Kanyenda must not overstep the boundary, therefore he cut the baobabs and left the axes in them; not bringing them away, so that thus all would know this to be the boundary.

¹ "Mwene" implies "owner" or "boss," and the refrain here probably implies, *we* "are the people."

² This chief is "Gonapamuhanya," son of the first of the line who, nowadays, is called "Mlowoka," i.e. "The one who crossed over."

³ "Kupofya" has this meaning of diminishing though it is not clear why it is used about Kampungu unless it means the reduction of the power of the subordinate headmen and the aggrandisement of the central authority at Nkamanga; cf. similar use in regard to Chepere and the Wiza country a few lines later.

⁴ A most confused sentence. Kanyenda and Karonga evidently crossed Nyasa together and then separated.

Skono wakati wawerako wakizanga kwimba, wali :—

“ Changuwa chikali, cholowa.”

Wakupinga, wali,

“ Mwene ! Mwene ! ”

Ndimu Chikuramayembe akalekeranga kwambana nawo kawiri-kawiri waNyirenda.

Ndipo para mukupulika kuti waNyirenda wanandi wali ku Kasungu, ndi awa wakachimbiranga Zowa wara wazenga ku Choma ; wakafumanga mu Ntwezuru mu uNyirenda ndiwo wandana kura.

Ndipo waNyirenda wa ku Dowa akendakawakora Chiwere mu Ntwezuru.

Ndilo fuko lya waNyirenda ilo.

MAZGU GHA CHIKURAMAYEMBE : FUMUNKURU.

Ndipo wakati wafwa Chikuramayembe wakudanga, wakakoreraipo mwana wakhe, napo iye waka wa na mwana mwanarume yumoza pera, wanakazi ndiwo wanandi.

Skono wakora mwana uyo ndiyo akagonapo chomene pa ufumu, ndipo aka wa na nchindi nga za wawiske nayo wakafwa muchekuru nkhanira.

Ndipo wakawikapo na kumukwezga ufumu wa Chikuramayembe muphwa wakhe Kamphungu, nayo aka wa na muphwa wakhe Chimundavwa. Ndipo skono, munthu uyo aka wa mukali chomene na muphwa wakhe wuwo, ndiyo uyo akapofya charo na kwendamo kuya katema wabuyu mu Dwangwa na mbavi, mwakuti mphaka yimanyikwenge na Kanyenda mumbiri wa Karonga fumunkuru ya ku Maravi uyu wakiziranga pamo pa kufuma ku Mbwan pa kwambuka, wakapatukananga na munyakhe akuya ku Maravi ndipo wakamenyananga mphaka Dwangwa. Skono ndiyo akakumbukanga Kamphungu akatenge Kanyenda angajumpha mphaka leka akatemanga mbavi mu wabuyu na kuzireka mumo ; kutola chara, mwakuti wamanyenge kuti ndiyo ndi mphaka. Ndipo nyinarume

And his uncle had left a very large number of male children and Kampungu chased them out of Nkamanga and they were scattered throughout other areas because their cousin Kampungu could not stand them.

Kampungu was of the Nkonjera clan, an extremely fierce man and his nephew Chimundavwa too ; weapons were never out of their hands ; even though others might be in the majority it made no difference, they would all flee from these two alone.

THE WAR OF CHEPERE, THE MUBEMBA.¹

Chepere is a Bemba who came from the Wiza country on the other side of the Luangwa, who reduced the whole country of the Wiza and crossed the Luangwa getting as far as Katumbi and Muyombe. He came with his hordes, and women too with their pounding mortars and grinding stones with the idea of taking Chikuramayembe's country from him. And when Chikuramayembe heard that Chepere had laid flat the Katumbi country he sent messengers into all the districts to the chiefs saying, "Come at once ; Chepere has taken Katumbi and Muyombe countries." Then the chiefs, every one of them, came with his detachment and trumpets blowing, then he sent another messenger to Chungu, "My friend, go round that way and we will meet at Uyombe ; Chepere has taken the country ; hurry up." And then Chungu mobilised all his force in Konde country, and went off up the Nthalire path with horns blowing. Chikuramayembe had reached the place already. In Katumbi's they were at grips ; and I tell you ! Chepere had settled himself in ; and he was at it leaping and stabbing inside the stockades ; corpses there were and the young men were finishing ; the head-dress ringlets laid low, poor fellows ; this being so, the leader Kampungu's anger rose and he shouted out, "Heat the arrows in fire ; burn their houses in the stockades," and then assuredly they made furnaces and heated the arrows and when they were red-hot nearly softened like wax, they fitted them to the bow and, twang . . . right into the hut-roofs and up in a blaze went all the huts within the stockades and the people inside, "Alas, we are burned," and away as hard as they could run. The attackers, "Kill them and capture the women and boys !" and at all the stockades they did this, they being many, until they came into touch with Chungu and he also captured until he had to stop. They caught some of those Bemba² of Chepere's own clan and followed them up keeping with them

¹ This fighting is usually ascribed to Kampungu's successor, Bamantha and, for various reasons, with greater probability.

² The "vi-" prefix to personal or tribal names always conveys dislike or contempt or, at any rate, ill-will.

akareka wana wanandi chomene wanarume, ndiwo Kamphungu akawa-chimbizga pa Nkhamanga wakaparanikira mu vyaro vinji chifukwa Kamphungu muvyara waŵo wakaŵapatika.

Kamphungu akawa mwina Nkhonjera, akawa mukali chomene na muphwa wakhe wuwo Chimundavwa ; mivwi kuti yikaŵanga pasi chara ; nanga wanthu waŵe viwi wanandi, mphawaka ; tiwachimbirenge wose kwa iwo wose wawiri pera.

NKONDO YA CHEPERE MUBEMBA.

Chepere ndi muBemba uyo akafuma ku uWiza, Lwangwa sirya lira, uyu akapofya charo chose cha uWiza, ndiyo akambuka Lwangwa kwiza kafika mwa Katumbi na Muyombe. Ndipo akiza na mauvi ghakhe ghanandi na wanakazi wuwo na maturi wuwo na marwara wuwo, akatenge nkha-poke charo cha Chikuramayembe. Ndipo para wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe mwakuti Chepere wathandaŵe charo kwa Katumbi, para ngawakutuma matenga mu vyaro vyose mu zifumu wali, " Mutenakwenda ! Chepere wapoka charo cha uYombe na kwa Katumbi." Para yose ya zifumu na mauvi ghaŵo zimbata zikulira yikwiza ku Themba, para ngawakutumaso tenga linyakhe kwiza kwa Chungu, ali, " Wamnyane upite uko pera, tikumanenge ku Uyombe ; Chepere wapoka charo ; endanga ruwiro." Ndipera para Chungu nayo ku Nkhonde ndawakukumba khondo yakhe yose, zimbata zikulira wakuruta wakwera nthowa ya Nthaliire. Kura Chikuramayembe wafika kale. Mwa Katumbi yasumbirirana ; na Chepere nayo akazenga, 'Mwe ! nayo wati waka tarasu mu malinga mukati ; vitanda vikuŵa, wasaza wakumara ; mandamba pasi kwati dyampu, wana wa wantu ! wakuchita ntheura mwina Nkhonjera Kamphungu wakalipa waneseska wali, " Mivwi muvutirenge pa moto yipyenge ; mochere nyumba zgaŵo mu linga " ; para nadi ngawakupanga maluvumbo wakavukutira mivwi ; para yapa yati kwa, yiri pafupi na kununa nga ndi mphura, ngawakukoweka mu uta twe ! pa nyumba pachanya chwipi ! nyumba toro, zgose mulinga ; wantu mulinga, " Ekwe ! tapyo " ; ndiyo mbi. Wakuwaro wati, " Komani wantu ! yola mbumba na wasaza wuwo ! " skono tumalinga tose wakachitanga nthaura pera, napo malinga ghakawa ghanandi asuka wakumana na munyakhe Chungu, uko nayo Chungu waviyola waleka waka. Vinji wakasora viBemba vina Chepere, wachimbizgana navyo wayakaviperekezga mu uSenga, skono

right into Senga country and the flight sounded "chopi chopi" they showing the soles of their feet and saying, "What's that there? what's that there?" It is these (captives) of Chepere's clan that the Kamanga have intermarried with; Chungu also has many of them taken at the fight with Chepere.¹ Because though Chikuramayembe summoned Chungu they were of the same stock and knew each other in the land whence they came; and Chungu had all the Mwamba country; the Konde area belonged to Mbowe. When Chungu was burned out by the Kipute family of the Kukwe tribe he then went to the outer lands where his brother Mwenempako was; thence he descended into Kondeland and found it an excellent country and said, "I shall stay in this country, elder brother." The elder brother wasted his time with bees and that is (the reason of) the name "Owner of Beehives." Then he (Chungu) went to Chikuramayembe when he had seen the country, going by the inland route and discussed with Chikuramayembe. Coming (i.e. returning) he came by the lake route and then it was that he broke in upon Mpande, and Simbowe fled.² Thus he became Chungu of Kondeland and fixed a boundary with Chikuramayembe at Chiwondo, running up into the hills along a ridge in Poka country, going over and down the other side (i.e. of the Nyika Plateau) of the hills to the Ruwumbu, the river near Hewe, (giving) Muyombe and Ntalire country to Chungu. At the delimitation of the boundary at Chiwondo they killed a man and a cow and stuck in hoes, and having fixed boundaries in that way that is why he (i.e. Chikuramayembe) called upon him to resist their enemy Chepere.³

THE DEATH OF KAMPUNGU.

All the males of his uncle's house went to Nkhama (sic; ? "Nkana") and spoke to the chiefs, grumbling and saying "Must we stay out in the bush, our relative having chased us"? and then the chiefs said "It is a fact; he is a bad lot; the children are in trouble" then they built a thorn fence for him, and for his nephew too, with a hut inside; deceiving him saying "The truth is that the country has risen, Chief; we are building

¹Hereditary titles imply a continuing personality. The Chungu and Chikuramayembe here spoken of are dead at least 80 years but the present tense relates all the past to the present chiefs.

²Mpande: the small hill behind Karonga in North Nyasa District where the original people under one Simbowe lived and worshipped. Now the centre of the Nkonde chiefship and worship.

³This whole section following on the defeat of Chepere, is of course, in interpolation by the author to link up the Nkamanga dynasty to that of the hereditary Chungus in Kondeland, and should have been a section by itself and in proper chronological order following upon the Arrival of Chikuramayembe.

vikuchimbira kuli chopi chopi ! vikulongora marwayo kusi, kuli, “ Uko vichi, uko vichi ? ” Ndiŵo aŵa ŵanjirila naŵo skono ŵaKamanga ŵina Chepere ; Chungu nayo ali naŵo ŵanandi chomene aŵa ŵakakorekanga pa nkondo ya Chepere. Chifukwa nanga Chikurumayembe akamuchemanga Chungu ŵakawa ŵene-na-ŵene, ŵakamanyana pakudanga kuko ŵakafumanga ; na skono Chungu akaŵa na charo chose cha Mwamba ; cha Nkonde chikawa cha Mbowe. Chungu ŵakati ŵamocha ŵaKukwe ŵina Kipute, ndiko kuyanga kuwaro uko kuli Mwenempako mukuru wakhe ; kura nga khwikha kwiza mu Nkonde wasanga charo nchiweme, wali, “ Tindikhale mu charo ichi, mukuru wane ? ” Mukuru wakhe wasuwirira njuchi ; ndilo zina lya Mwenempako. Ndipo para ngawakuruta kwa Chikurumayembe apo wakati wawona charo, wakapita panena pera, kuyakayowoyeskana na Chikurumayembe. Kwiza, wayakizira nthowa ya ku nyanja, ndiko kunjiranga pa Mphande, Simbowe ngawakuchimbira. Ndawakuŵa Chungu wa Nkonde skono, ndiko kupakananga mpaka pa Chiwondo, kukwerera, kukwerera mu mapiri gha Phoka mu mutanantha pera, kuwenuka mapiri kuya kwa Ruwumbo, mulonga wa kufupi na Hewe, Muyombe na Nthalire kwa Chungu. Pakupakana pa Chiwondo ŵakakomerapo muntu na ng’ombe ŵakajinthamu na mayembe ŵakati ŵapakana nthaura ndimo wakachemeranga nanga pa kulwa na mulwani waŵo Chepere.

KAMPHUNGU : YIFWA YAKHE.

Ŵanangwa ŵose ŵana ŵa nyinarume ŵawera ku Nkhama ŵayowoya na zifumu zose mu kusing’inika mwakuti, “ Tikhalenge mu thondo, munyithu watichimbizga ? ” para fumu zga mu charo ziri, “ Inya nadi, muntu waŵa muhene uyo ; ŵana ŵasokwa,” ndiko kumuzengeranga chivwamba cha minga kuwaro nyumba : muphwa wakhe nayo chakhe, nyumba mukati ; ŵakaŵapusika, ŵali, “ Inya nadi, charo chawuka,

enclosures for you that you may live inside," and he said, "Right; certainly." They spoke as if it was for lions that they were building. Then they said, "What shall we do seeing that these fellows are exceedingly fierce"? and some others said, "Let us call in the Nyirendas to help us"; and then they summoned the Nyirenda clan and they came and then all set out, along with the members of the ruling family and with their bows, to where Kampungu and Chimundavwa were.¹ When they came outside the weapons looked like a field of big maize, and the Chief emerged from the hut, all present made the obeisance and their followers too. The Chief said, "Do you behave thus with peaceful intentions"? and they replied, "There is no peace." Then the Chief said, "Are there people at Chimundavwa's too"? and they replied, "They are there too. He had thought, "Possibly there may be no one there and he may come to help me"; but when he found that people were there too the heart of the Chief fell.² Then they said, "Burn the enclosure," and so doing they encircled the enclosure hardening hearts against him; and at Chimundavwa they followed the same procedure. And when they set fire to the enclosures he (i.e. Kampungu) saw that they (meant to) burn him within so he entered the hut, seized an (Arab camel-hair) blanket, dipped it in water and covered himself, took his bow and came out again to face it; some already had arrows aimed at him and hit him; the Nyirenda said, "Kampungu, that is your reward" (or perhaps, "That settles you") And at the nephew's place the same happened and they "slew the country and the country had rest."³ Then they sang the song, "That which was fierce has become gentle." Nephews do not now ascend the throne.⁴

BAMANTHA; WHOM MWAFULIRWA FORCED TO MAKE HOE-HANDLES.

Mwafulirwa is of the Malongo clan and came from the other side of the Lake in the hill country where his relatives are, he having broken off and left them there and coming to Fulirwa although the actual owners of the area are the Kandawiri and this chief came out of Nkamanga but the

¹ The translation of the word "wanangwa" varies with its context; here it refers to the free-born sons expelled by Kampungu; in other circumstances it will mean "free-hearted," "generous"; again, in a general sense, applied to all showing proof of "good-breeding" and "family."

² "Lusoko lwawa"; possibly "gave up hope."

³ Chief and Country being synonymous.

⁴ An indication that with the coming of the foreign dynasty an early matrilineal community where the sister's son succeeds was being superseded by patrilineal succession. Kampungu's case was evidently a temporary reversion and too unsatisfactory to be repeated.

Themba ; timuzengerani vivwamba mukhale mukati ? ” iyo wali, “ Inya nadi ” ; wakanenanga kharamu, ndimo wakazengeranga. Para wali, “ Skono titi uli apa viwantu vikari nthaura ? ” Para wANJI wali, “ Tika-cheme waNyirenda wizamkutovwira ” ; ndimo mura para ngawakuchema waNyirenda, ngawakwiza, para ngawakuruta wose na wanangwa wuwo na mawuvi ghaŵo uku wali Kamphungu na Chimundavwa. Para ngawakufika pawaro vya mawuta kwati waka kangalakangala, Themba ngalikufuma mu nyumba, ngawakulamba pasi wanangwa na mawuvi ghaŵo ghose. Themba liri, “ Na muti kuli mtende ? ” wali, “ Mtende mphalive.” Themba liri, “ Kwa Chimundavwa nako wali kuko ? ” Naŵo, “ Wali kuko.” Skono iyo akatenge, “ Panji kulivye, wizamkundovwira ” ; wasanga kuti nako wali kuko, Themba lusoko lwawa. Para wali, “ Ochani chivwamba ” ; wakuchita nthaura wazingirizga chivwamba wamutupirira ; kwa Chimundavwa nako luso ndwenelulo. Para ngawakocha vivwamba ; para wati wawona kuti wamochera mukati ngawakunjira mu nyumba wali pa kuwe wakutora wakunjizga mu maji ngawakudika, ngawakutora wuta wakhe wakufumira pawaro mba ; wANJI wamudamika kale na mivwi, wali nayo njo ! wamulasa ; waNyirenda wali, “ Kamphungu Kampoto O.” Ku muphwa wakhe naku luso ndwenelulo ngawakukoma charo ; charo chagona. Ndipo skono wakimbanga wakatenge, “ Changuwa chikale cholowa.” Skono wiphwa kuti waku-kwera cha.

BAMANTHA UYO WAKAMUWAJISKANGA VYAKA MWA-FULILWA.

Mwafulilwa mbina Malongo wakafuma pa sirya pa mapiri pa mwera para wanyakhe wali papara, akapatukananga naŵo akaŵalekanga papo, ndipo iyo akizanga pa Fulilwa, kwene wenecho wa charo mbaKandawire ; ndipo fumu iyi yikafuma ku Nkamanga, kwene wene wina Mwachanda

real folk of the Mwachanda stock are the Nyungwe and Mwenekasimba groups, they are the actual people of the land. But Mwafulirwa having become chief, Chikuramayembe giving it to him since he made rain and the Mkandawiri had failed to make rain when the over-lord summoned both Mkandawiri and Mwafulirwa. When they went to the king they found that Mwafulirwa brought rain and Mkandawiri was defeated. So the king said, "Marongo; take the chiefship at Fulirwa," and then he took over the chiefship; Mkandawiri was made to shuffle over thorns on his buttocks because the rain had defeated him at his attempt to bring it. Then Bamantha of the ruling house, who had fled to Mwafulirwa at the time Kampungu put them to flight, and Mwafulirwa had set him to make hoe-handles, when Bamantha ascended the seat of power at Nkamanga he remembered the hoe-handles which Mwafulirwa made him shape. And he sent a messenger to Chungu in the Konde country saying, "Look here; you might teach that fellow of mine Mwafulirwa who made me shape hoe-handles, a lesson." And then when Chungu heard the message, the drums beat and the horns blew and the army set out for Fulirwa to fall upon them and cut off heads; and there was more capturing of some young ones for Chikuramayembe, and Chungu got some too since (Mwafulirwa said), "I beseech you, leave me alone; I am your man"; and at that they let him be and these are the members of his family who have given birth to the heads of Nkamanga and with Chungu too, for they are also there.

KABUNDULI THROWS AWAY THE CHIEFSHIP; KANYENDA INVADES THE COUNTRY.

Kabunduli is the man who became chief down to the boundary over against Kanyenda who was Karonga's Councillor, the over-lord of Maravi; and it happened that he invaded the country lying between the Dwangwa and the Lweya rivers and all the people began paying tribute to Kanyenda. And when Chikuramayembe heard, he sent people, saying, "Go and seek for another chief; take this tail with you, the name of which is Chikwitika," and he said, "If you reach there, try to catch fowls yourselves or food and if (the people) chase you off, don't take the headman of that village, but where they give you permission, the head of that village is the man; give him the tail,¹ let it lie at the head(of his bed) and in the morning get up early and ask him, "How have you slept?" and when he says, "I dreamed of war," tell him, "The king calls you, let us go; and bring Kabunduli with you too." And in truth, they started off and got there and just as the king had said, in all the villages of

¹A tail of some animal containing the chief's medicine.

mba Mwanyungwe na Mwenekasimba ndiŵo ŵene charo. Ndawaŵe Mwafulilwa ufumu, Chikuramayembe akamupila mwakuti akasura vura chifukwa Mukandawire yikamutonda kusura, ndipo Themba likaŵache-ma Mukandawire na Mwafulilwa. Ŵakati ŵaruta ku Themba ŵasanga kuti Mwafulilwa wasura vura yarakwa, Mukandawire yamutonda. Para Themba liri, “Marongo, kwera pa ufumu wa pa Fulilwa,” skono ndipo kukweranga pa ufumu; Mukandawire wakora kuphwatira thako minga pa Themba chifukwa vura yikamutonda kusura. Ndipo skono ŵakati ŵakwezga mwanangwa Bamantha uyo akachimbirira kwa Mwafulilwa apa Kamphungu akaŵachimbizga, ndipo Mwafulilwa akamuwajiska vyaka. Ndipo skono wakati wakwera pa ufumu wa ŵaThemba pa Nkhamanga wakakumbuka vyaka ivi wakamuwajiskanga Mwafulilwa. Ndimu akatumilanga tenga kwiza kwa Chungu ku Nkonde, wali, “Ewe, ndilangilako muntu wane uyu Mwafulilwa akandiawajiska vyaka.” Ndipo para Chungu wakati wapulika mazgu agha ng’oma zikalila na zimbata ngazikulila nkondo ngayikuruta ku Fulilwa kuyakaŵawira na kudumura mitu; ndiko kutoranga ŵana ŵanyakhe kwa Chikuramayembe, ŵanji kwa Chungu mwakuti, “Ndaweya nda muntu ŵina skono ndirekani”; ndiko kumuleka, ŵana ndiŵo aŵa ŵalikubaba zifumu pa Nkhamanga na kwa Chungu wuwo, namo ŵalimo.

KABUNDULI WATAYA UFUMU: KANYENDA WALOWA MU CHARO.

Kabunduli ndiyo akaŵa fumu ya ku mphaka kulawiskana na Kanyenda mbiri wa Karonga, Themba lya Malavi; ndipo para, wati walowa mu charo kufuma ku Dwangwa kufika mu Lweya, ŵantu ŵose ŵakapereka-nga mithuro kwa iyo Kanyenda. Ndipo wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe ngawakutuma ŵantu wali, “Rutaninge mukapenje fumu yinyakhe yeghane muchira uwu, zina lakhe Chikwitika”; para wali, “Usange mwafika uko, muyezgenge kukora nkuku mwekha panji vyakurya, ndipo usange ŵakumuchimbizgani rekani kukorapo fumu pa mizi iyo, kwene para ŵamuzomerezgani, pa muzi uwo ndiyo fumu yeyeyiyo; yipani muchira uwo yigonere ku mutu, namacherochero mucherere mukafumbe kuti, “Mwagona uli?” ndipo para wakuti “Ndarota nkondo,” mnenerani, “Themba likuchema; tirutenge”: mukizenge na Kabunduli wuwo.” Nadi para ngaŵakuruta ŵayakafika, ndipo nga ndi umo

the Kapunda¹ the people chased them off but when they came to the village of Mankaka one of the younger Kapunda line, he said, "Let them alone, let the men eat food but if they catch women then you will know that they are bad." Then they swept a house and spread mats with food in plenty in the hut and the men then said, "What do you see wrong with this fellow for chief?"² And so then they did as the king had told them and climbed again to the king in Nkamanga to have Mankaka anointed with the fat of the lion, and he took with him a sister to become a wife of the ruling house. Then the king said, "I give you the chiefship now; Kabunduli is under you; go and put to flight that Kanyenda out of my country that he may get back and recross the Dwangwa; and when the fight is on let not your people loose off their arrows quickly but let them begin by squatting down and presenting their buttocks (to the enemy).³ When they have let off their arrows then do you loose off too." And he said "Right! Mwiwa" and when he arrived down in Tongaland he began to fight with Kanyenda as the king had told him. Kanyenda cleared out and he (Mankaka) came to Khunga and placed there his relative Damba on the boundary with Kanyenda and now he does not cross the Dwangwa. He it was (i.e. Mankaka) who on his return made his people carry great stones for the building of a village there where the White man built the house down at the Lake at the Kawiya stream and when he had left there he went on and built a village on the other side of the Lweya and higher up.

BWATI FORETELLS A TIME OF CONFUSION

When Bamantha died they installed members of the ruling house and they having died they installed Bwati whom it was that the Ngoni found (they who captured Mafechura Nyirenda), on their way to Chidhlo and to Malindika;⁴ now that was how the Ngoni knew that these people were very fierce from the way that Mafechura always broke through stockades. And when the Ngoni had gone on,⁵ Bwati the king prophesied and said:

¹Kapunda; "The Conquerors." An immigrant family (clan Banda) of the same type as the Chikuramayembe but arriving later than the appointment of the district headman by the first Chik., Mlowoka.

²A very rough translation of the vernacular phrase.

³The actual translation is toned down here, but can be guessed.

⁴That is, to the north near Tanganyika in the Fipa country. This passing northwards of the Ngoni is dateable at about 1845 and the return and deposition of Mkuwayira at about ten years later.

⁵This Nyirenda tradition of the capturing by the Ngoni of one of their clan on the way north and his subsequent fame as stockade-breaker is the only available item at present referring to that period, but is all the more useful in allowing Bwati's reign to be dated approximately.

Themba likaŵanenera mizi yose ya ŵana ŵa ŵaKapunda ŵakaŵachimbi-zga, kwene ŵakati ŵafika pa muzi wa Mankhaka, munung'una wa ŵina Kapunda ŵakati, "Ŵarekani ŵantu ŵalyenge vyakurya, kwene para ŵakukora ŵanakazi ndipo mtenge mbahene." Para ngaŵakupyera nyumba na mphasa ŵatandika vyakurya kwati ngwerere mu nyumba, para ŵantu ŵara ŵali, "Ha wuwone, fumu iyi vichi?" Ndimu mura para ngaŵakuchita nga ndi umo Themba likaŵanenera, ndiko kukwera-nga ku Themba mu Nkhamanga kuya kamuphaka mafuta gha nkaramu Mankhaka, nayo ngawakutora mudumbo wakhe ngawakuŵa muoli wa pa Nkhamanga. Para Themba liri, "Skono iwe ndakupa ufumu; Kabu-nduli ali pasi pa iwe; rutanga ukamuchimbizge Kanyenda yura mu charo chane awerere kusirya lira Dwangwa; ndipo mwambana kale, ŵantu ŵako ŵakapong'yenge ruwiro mivwi chara, kwene ŵakadangenge ŵati nanga matako tuno kwa iŵo. Para iŵo ŵadanga ŵapong'ya mivwi, skono ndipo nawe ukapong'yenge." Para nayo wali, "E, Mwiwa," ndipo para wakati wikha kufika ku uTonga ngayikwamba nkondo na Kanyenda, nga ndi umo Themba likamnenera. Kanyenda mbi, waya-kafika ku Khunga ngawakuwikako Damba mbale wakhe ku mphaka na Kanyenda, na skono kuti akambukira mu sirya lira Dwangwa chara. Ndiyo mwene kuwererangako wendamuyegheza ŵantu mawe kwiza kazenga muzi para wali kuzenga mzungu nyumba ya ku nyanja pa Kawi-ya, ndipo wakati wafuma para ndiko kuyakazenganga muzi pa Lweya sirya lira panena.

BWATI WAKULOSKA MUYUNGIRO.

Ndipo wakati wafwangapo Bamanta, ŵakakorera ŵanangwa, ndipo kwene ŵakati ŵafwa ngaŵakukolerapo Bwati, ndiyo akamusanga zoba wa ng'ombe uyo akakoranga Mafechura Nyirenda, wakaya nayo ku Chizgo-zgo ku Malindika; skono uko ndiko ŵazoba ŵamanyira kuti ŵantu aŵa mbakali chomene, chifukwa umu Mafechura akanjilanga malinga mazuwa ghose. Ndipo para wakati waruta zoba wa ng'ombe, Themba Bwati

“When I am dead no other will last as I have done, there will be a great confusion that will last for a long time. But on a far-off day they will install a young child and he will establish the land.”

And in truth, when Bwati died they installed Mkuwayira and do you imagine that Mkuwayira had a good reign? Far from it! Those Ngoni came along and subjugated all the people under Ngoni rule, and Mkuwayira sought a remedy with the crown (i.e. cloth turban) upon his head, but the Ngoni rejected him and said “Who owns this king”? That is the confusion, on to the time of the Europeans, which Bwati referred to and now truly a young child ascends the seat of power whom they fled away with and brought to Kondeland.³

¹The resumption of the Chikuramayembe line in 1907 is here referred to though Chirongozi Gondwe was a full-grown man when he was placed on his father's throne. But at the flight to Kondeland referred to in later pages here, he was an infant on his mother's back and it is this that is referred to in Bwati's prophetic mention of a “young child.”

B

FROM THE COMING OF THE NGONI (c. 1885)
TO THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN
NORTHERN NYASALAND AND THE EXPULSION
OF THE ARAB SLAVERS (1895.)

akaloska wakati, " Para ndafwa ine, kuti yunji tiwakharepo nthaura ine chara, tikuwe muyungiro ukuru chomene wakurutirira swii. Kwene zuwa linji nkhanira tiwakolerepo kana katema tikakhalike charo." Ndipo nadi para ngawakufwa Bwati ngawakolerapo Mukuwayira; na mukuti Mukuwayira nayo wakakharaposo makora? awa pole! Vyasoba nga vikwiza waka vikulovya wantu wose mu uNgoni, skono Mukuwayira wandakachekacheka waka na mphumpu ku mutu, waNgoni wamukana-nga kuti, " Ndinjani waweta Themba ili? " Ndiwo muyungiro, kwiza-kafika ku waZungu, uwu akanenanga Bwati, skono nadi ngawakukwerapo mwana muchoko uyo wakachimbiranga nayo kwiza nayo ku uNkonde.

HOW THE NGONI CAME.

I now wish to narrate as to the coming of these Ngoni since they came and spoiled our country.

These Ngoni came from a very far-away place which they call Zululand, that is where they came from these Ngoni. And when they came out with their father Zongandaba, they travelled along, they captured people whom they found in their path as they came, so that they might quickly increase.

And so it was that eventually they came to travel through the land of Nkamanga and it was they¹ whom the people called "cattle lifters," taking cattle in Nkamanga and it was they who captured Mafechura while still a child and he came to maturity at Chidhlohlhlo where they went near Tanganyika. And there, when they reached Chidhlohlhlo, they settled down. In Nkamanga the people forgot these pests² thinking that they had departed for good. And yonder, on the death of their father Zongandaba there remained only his children, Nthutu and Mbera and Mtwaro and Mperembe and a number of others, who on the death of their father started to hive off that they might occupy the whole of this territory. Nthutu went to Mpezeni,³ Mbera and Mtwaro came to Nkamanga country because they had seen in passing through that it was a country worth settling in.⁴ Furthermore they had experience of Mafechura the great breaker of stockades, finding this child of the Henga country always in the centre of things, and then the Ngoni said, "Let us go to the country where we captured this fellow"; thus it was that they came to settle.

As for Chiwere,⁵ he ran off from the section under Mbera and

¹Singular used for the Ngoni horde instead of plural.

²This attempts to translate the use of the "vi-" prefix denoting dislike and— or disgust.

³That is, to the present Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia.

⁴The writer omits the third of the three brothers who kept together and by so doing kept the main body of Ngoni under Mbera from splitting up; this third brother was Maurau.

⁵Chiwere, a Senga runaway who carried the Ngoni name into the Dowa district of Nyasaland and gave to that and adjacent areas the present title of Central Ngoniland, though himself in no real sense an Ngoni. (Chiwere were Ndhlovu, captured in the Luangwa Valley.)

UMO WAKIZIRANGA WANGONI.

Skono nkhekumba mwakuti ndandaule na mumu wakiziranga wa-Ngoni awa nanga walikwizakananga charo chitu.

Iwo waNgoni awa walikufuma kutali chomene uko wakuti ku Zululand, uko ndiko walikufuma waNgoni awa. Ndipo wakati wafuma uko na wiskeŵo Zongandawa waŵo uyo, ndiko kwendanga muchanya pera umo wakwendakayola wanthu wima mu zinthowa umo wakizanga mwakuti wandane ruwilo.

Ndimu mula para, skono ndiko kwendakapita mu charo cha Nkhamanga ndiyo wakatenge zowa wa ng'ombe uyo wakayolanga zing'ombe mu Nkhamanga, ndiyo wakakoranga na waMafechura wachali wana wachoko wakayakakulila kuko ku chizgozgo (Chidhlo) uko wakaya kumaza na mu Tang'anyika. Ndimu mula para, vyati vyaya kura ku chizgozgo, vyayakuzenga. Skono ku Nkhamanga nako waluwa vira vintu, lero virikurutira nkhanira. Ndipo para, wati wafwa wiskeŵo Zongandawa uyo, ndiko kukhara wana wake pera, Nthutu, na Mbera, na Mtwaro, na Mperembe, na wanyakheso wanandi; para skono watiwafwa wiskeŵo uyo ndiko kupatukananga skono mwakuti vikumane charo chose chinu. Nthutu ndiko kuyanga ku Mpezeni, Mbera na Mtwaro ndiko kwizanga charo cha Nkhamanga chifukwa wakendakachiwona kale mwakuti charo ichi chomene chiri kwenera kuzenga ise. Nakwenenako wakawonaso Mafechura maphwanyiro gha malinga, para yawambana pa linga wakasangana skonokono chiri mukati chana cha Muhenga; para waNgoni wali, "Cha; ise tiye pa charo ichi tilikukora muntu uyu"; ndimu wakazengeranga.

Ndawaŵe Chiwere, ndiyo wakachimbiranga mu mpingo wa Mbera

Mtwaro and settled among our friends the Chewa, wanting to be a chief on his own according to the foolishness of the country.

Thus it was then when the Ngoni settled in our country that they began fighting and the Henga people¹ made what defence they could with their bows, some stockades were broken up and people killed and others carried off captive. Then it was that the people learned to build defences with the constant coming of fighting and the killing of people, they previously having been used to build where they pleased in the open. And some of the stockades were too strong for them (i.e. the Ngoni) so in them they just issued their commands. And thus when the Henga came under the Ngoni power a choice was made of the young people so that they might settle among the Ngoni influences in huts of their own. And those were they who settled down in their own villages by themselves and when they had fashioned the Ngoni shields, and others with bows, it was they who ravaged and broke up the Lake areas, the Poka country and the Senga lands.

Thus when all had come into Ngoni domination the fighting in the near-by areas ceased and only went on in distant territories; this was the time when the regiments Maziya, Mamyu, Machaya, Masua and Mahosi came to their full strength. These picked up Ngoni methods thoroughly and wherever they came it was as if they were genuine Ngoni.

And now Mbera and Mtwaro looked around and said, "We have developed splendidly." All due to the capturing of cattle for themselves in quantity through the war parties (that went to) Mwamba country and to Musikawanthu and to Kanyama and to Mwamakura and to Mwanke-nja and to the Ndali country of Mukabidi and to the Chewa areas.² (It was in the Chewa country that they specially captured men and women and even to-day we have with us the mothers who bore us because our raiding fathers found that these women were very strong and it was such as they that were admired specially by our fathers). And so now that they had become very numerous, Ngoniland was smelly. There was Muharure too who went about on his own³ with his war parties though that is not to say that he broke off wholly from his relatives; they were all together, but in war-raiding he moved by himself.

¹ A division of the country between Nkamanga proper and the hills overlooking Lake Nyasa; ruled by the sub-chief Mwahenga under the Chikuramayembe as previously narrated.

² The names here given cover the whole country from what is now the Tukuyu Division of Tanganyika Territory in the north to the present Central Province of Nyasaland in the south.

³ Muharure belonged to a side branch of the ruling Jere family of the Ngoni; not in the direct line like Mbera, Mtwaro, Maurau and Mperembe.

na Mtwaro ndiko kuzenganga mu charo cha wanyithu waChewa ; nayo wakakhumbanga ufumu pa yekha umu charo chapusa.

Ndimu mula para, wati wazenga waNgoni mu charo chithu nga wakwambako zinkhondo, waHenga wayezge chikupuchikupu mawuta agho malinga ghanyakhe vyandakuswa, wanthu vyandakukoma, wanjikuyola. Apera skono ndipo wakamanyira kuzenga malinga wanthu pera chifukwa kwiza nkondo yakukoma wanthu kawirikawiri umu wene kale wakazenganga bweka mizi muwalo. Kwene malinga ghanyakhe ghakawatondanga, skono ndigho wakalovya waka agho. Ndimu mula para, wati walowa mu wuNgoni, ndiko kusolanga wachoko wachoko mwakuti wakhalenge mu wuNgoni, mu nyumba zgaŵo. Ndipo aŵa wakalowanga walawala ndiŵo wakazenganga mizi yaŵo pa wekha naŵo, aŵo ndiŵo wakati wawanda visango (vihlangu) wanjikawuta ghawo, ndiŵo wakapankhulanga naŵo vyaro vya mu nyanja na vyaPhoka na vya mauSenga.

Ndimu mula para, wati walowa wose wanthu, skono nkondo yamufupi yareka, yakhala yakutali ndipera, para skono ghati ghakula Maziya, na Mamyu, na Machaya, na Masua, na Mahosi. Ndiŵo wakamanyachomene chiNgoni aŵo uku wakwiza nga mbaNgoni pera.

Skono para Mbera akati maso, Mtwaro akati maso, wali, " Cha ; takhulira nkhanira." Skono wakuchita ntaula, wayayolera zing'ombe zinandi chomene, kuyimbi zakuMwamba, ku Musikawanthu, ku Kanyama, kwa Mwamakura, kwa Mwamkenja, ku wuNthali Mukabidi, ku mauChewa. (Ndiko wakayolanga viwi wanthu kuwuChewa ; na skono wuwu tiri naŵo na skono mbamama walikutibaba ise chifukwa wadada wakatolanga wakasanga mbanakazi wankhongono chomene, wene aŵo ndiŵo wakatemweka chomene ku wadada withu). Ndipo skono wati waŵa wanandi chomene, wuNgoni wanunkha ; Muharure nayo wakendanga pa yekha na mawanja (mawandhla) ghake, na skono kuti wakapatukira nkhanira chara ; wakaŵa pamoza, kwene pa kwenda pa nkondo ndipo nayo wakendanga pa yekha.

Mbera, however, was the one who had the idea of moving away if it had not been for the rebellion of the Henga, because he saw that the war strength was huge. As for instance with Mperembe who came on later, following his relatives and when he arrived at once said, "Give me a territory that I may eat." (And so the Henga made a saying "you frighten people with the head-ring of Mperembe, saying 'Give me territory that I may eat.'")

But there was one man called Kanyoli of the Chamumono family in the Gondwe clan¹ whom Mtwaro associated with himself when taking the war-medicines (i.e. charms for success). And this man was exceedingly warlike beyond others living under the Ngoni and even beyond the Ngoni too. When the fighting was fierce at the stockade he was the one that got inside and finished the people and it was he whom the Ngoni hailed in the "praise name," "The wild cat smells of the qondama medicine."

And in Muharure's section also there was an outstanding man, Kambondoma (he had been a slave of the Hango family),² a fellow who could kill five men himself and where men stood up against him, even good fighters, it was all no use and before very long they would be in flight.

His praise names were,

"Big chief Kajawa ; the Lizard ; his spear stirs up and cuts the very intestines without his meeting death."³

And there was also another called Mwendera Wadokota belonging to the house of the Chikuramayembes who, too, was a fighter. These were the young fellows⁴ who were with the Ngoni and brought up in the homes and ways of the Ngoni but there was a large number of good fighters, these I have counted here being, as it were, the war-captains when they broke away from the Ngoni.

So then when they had lived for many years among the Ngoni it happened that the Tonga rebelled and broke away from the Ngoni, the

¹The name Gondwe was taken by the family of the Chikuramayembe after the dynasty had been for some time established in Nkamanga.

²That is, the house of Mwahenga in the Henga Valley ; "slave" might be equally well translated here as "dependent."

³This is an almost untranslatable sentence ; the latter part really a curse but as employed here in bombast a terrible sort of praise.

⁴"Majaha" is the chiNgoni equivalent for chiTumbuka "wapungwe" ; that is, "young men."

Kwene na Mbera ndiyo wakatenge wapatukanenge ngawalekenge kuzganga ruwilo waHenga, chifukwa wakawona mawanja unandi. Kwe-ne ndawaŵe Mperembe ndiyo wakiza pamanyuma, wakarondezgha ŵa-nyakhe munyuma, wakati wafika ndipo apa wakatenge, “Ndipani malaga, ndilghe.” (Ndipo sono waHenga wakatenge wayaghayizga chizgozgo cha Mperembe, “Ndipani malaga, ndilghe.”)

Ndipo kwene pakawâ munthu yumoza, zina lakhe Kanyoli uyu Mtwalo wakagezerangapo minkwala, wa fuku la Chamumono, mwina Gondwe. Ndipo uyo wakaŵa mukali chomene wakuruska wanyakhe wânji mu wuNgoni pakunji na waNgoni wânji. Para nkondo yawambana palinga, uyo ngawakunjira mukati, wanthu mukati wamara, ndipo uyo waNgoni wakamuthokozganga, wakatenge :—

“Bichi thondama kanamanga.”

Ndipo kwa Muharure nako kukaŵa Kambondoma (ndipo iyo waŵa kapolo wa waHango), ndipo iyo nayo ndiyo wakaŵa mukali chomene nkhanira wasanu pakukoma wanthu, ndipo para wanthu wakuyakimapo naŵo mbakali chomene kwene chara, skonoskono ŵawachimbira wime kwakunjani. Ndiyo vithokozo vyakhe wakatenge :—

“Jumbe Kajawa tondole Bugundubugundu wavimeta vyamuthumbo wamzira kuyiwona ”

chifukwa iyo wakafumamo waka mu wuNgoni wambula kudumula mu-thu ; wakaŵa mukali chomene, nakuweka wuwo wakamanya chomene.

Ndipo wakaŵaposo munyakhe, zina lakhe Mwendera Wadokota, wa fuku la Chikuramayembe, naye wakaŵa mukali chomene. Ndigho majaha agha ghakakulila mu wuNgoni mu nyumba za waNgoni, kwene wakaŵa wanandi chomene wakali, aŵa ndawerenga ndi aŵa wakaŵa nga ndi wakapiteni wankondo skono wakati warekana na waNgoni.

Ndipo para, wakati wagona virimika vinandi mu wuNgoni, ndipera para waTonga nga wakuzganga walekana naŵo waNgoni, napo wakaze-

older people having been living there at the Lake now their children followed them there, coming out from among the Ngoni and saying, "If it is a matter of war, let it come; we no longer wish to be your people; we refuse."¹ At this uprising of Mankambira the Henga people were still a part of the Ngoni (Kingdom) and their villages far separate from the Ngoni proper, some at Mzokoto, some at Muhuju, some at Ng'onga and some at Nkamanga, but the young men their children were among the Ngoni.

So then the Ngoni said, "Since Mankambira has rebelled, let the war party go out"; and then it got ready to go out, Henga and Ngoni, though as a matter of fact some Henga had rebelled along with the Tonga; in their stockade there was Vwati who killed the Ngoni Ndindani, and Mundalanga and others also included among those who had risen along with the Tonga. So then when the war party got to Chintechi they got to close quarters and Ndindani was laid low; turning elsewhere there was another Ngoni down and the Ngoni said, "Hallo! this is painful," and cleared out.² Then those in the stockade made a sortie and kept in touch relentlessly some (of the Ngoni) getting caught in traps, some falling into hidden pits; utter rout of the Ngoni along with the Henga; then the Tonga came back and they (the Ngoni) did not play that game again.

NOW WE ARRIVE AT THE REBELLION OF THE HENGA.

The Ngoni now met in council and said, "See how our people are turning against us; what will we do?" the Ngoni asked themselves. Then they said, "We will root out the potatoes and let the cassava remain." But they implied the old people, they were the potatoes, and the younger generation were the cassava³. So then they sent out the summons, "All come in here to the kraal of the chief Mtwalo." Then

¹This first break away from the Ngoni took place about 1874 on the death of Mayayi Chiputula Nhlane, a headman in whose villages the bulk of the Tonga serfs were settled.

²The battle at Chintechi can be dated roughly at 1875; the Ngoni party was thoroughly thrashed but before vengeance in force could fall on the Tonga Dr. Laws' party on the "Ilala" from their base at the south end of the Lake introduced a diversion and in 1879 he made Bandawe, a few miles from Chintechi his headquarters and, though unwittingly, saved the Tonga from re-enslavement.

³Potatoes having widespreading ramifications represent the old men with ties deep in their native surroundings; cassava with its single main root representing young people not yet deeply attached and capable of being assimilated into the conquering race.

nga kwenekuko ku nyanja wâlalawâlala, na skono wana wawo wakawaro-ndezganga kuko kufuma mu wuNgoni ; ndipo para, wali, “ Usange ndi nkondo, yizenge waka, lero ise kuti tikukumbaso mwakuti tiwe wanthu winu chara ; takana.” Wawa Mankambira wazganga kwene waHenga wachari mumo mu wuNgoni, ndipo mizi yawo yikawa kutali na waNgoni, wani ku Muzokoto, wani ku Muhuju, wani ku Ng’onga, wani ku Nkhamanga, wani ku Jandalala, kwene majaha, wana wawo ndiwo waka-wa mu wuNgoni.

Ndipo para, waNgoni wali, “ He ! apa Mankambira wazganga, yifume nkondo ” ; para yipaka kufuma, waHenga wose waNgoni wose, ndipo kwene waHenga wanyakhe wakazgangira kumozana na waTonga ; mu linga mukawa Vwati, uyo wakakoma Ndindani, muNgoni, na Mundalanga na wanyakheso mwenemumo weneawo wakazganganira kumozana na waTonga. Ndipo para, yati yafika pa Chintechi yawambana mu kutu, skono Ndindani wali pasi, wakuti ting’anamukenge munyakhe wali pasi muNgoni, waNgoni wali, “ Hehe ; wakuwinya,” ngayikusuka waka. Wamulinga mukati, ngawakufuma wayeghana nawo mukosokoso, wani wakuwira mu vipingo, wani wakuwira mu mbuna ; waNgoni mbii . . . , pamoza na waHenga ; para waTonga wakuwera, skono kuwasowerera chara.

SKONO TIKUWENGU KU KUZGANGA KWA WAHENGU.

Ndipo para, waNgoni wamba kawupo kawo wali, “ Wonani, skono wanthu awa wakuting’anamukira, skono titi wuli ? ” wakafumbana waNgoni. Para wali, “ Cha, tisuse mutotomera, kukhale njumbura.” Kwene wakanenanga wâlalawâlala, ndiwo mutotomera, wachokowachoko ndiyo njumbura. Ndipo para, ngawakumemeza, wali, “ Mose mwize kuno mu chiwaya cha nkosi Mtwalo.” Para waHenga wakwiza ndipo

when the Henga were coming there was an Ngoni of a kind heart called Sondwani who said, "You Chimaraŵanthu, you Muyunganiko, you Chisovya; those Ngoni are full of guile, be very, very careful there where you are going. In saying, "We will root out the potatoes," they mean they that will kill off the old people so that only young people may remain; that is how they did with my family's old people so now you be careful." And the Henga¹ said, "Is that so! let the matter go on, friend; we have heard."

Then they arrived in Ngoniland proper at the chief's place and the old men told their children who were among the Ngoni, "Be very careful; oh ye who are our children; we are about to die but we die happy² since you are proper Ngoni now. But alas! children whom we at least begat! we shall see one another again." And then the Ngoni commenced to pick out their own children that they might be by themselves seeing that previously they had lived and moved indiscriminately with the Henga young people, but now they separated. And the Henga said, "Surely it is clear that Sondwani was telling the truth."

Then they found the Ngoni saying, "You Henga of the Mamyu regiment, put down your shields and catch the cow for (making) the charms (or, war-medicine); put your shields all together. The plan being that their young men would kill them without trouble since that war regiment was a very strong one (being the one that) Kambondoma belonged to and other famous and redoubtable³ men (who were) more outstanding than the young Ngoni.

And when they made to put down their shields, saying, "Let us try to catch the cow," they found that it was very fierce and gave it up. Then the Ngoni said, "Catch it," and the Henga said, "When (do you think that is likely to happen?)" and added, "We'll get our clubs"; but the Ngoni said, "No; catch it with the bare hands." The Henga said, "Nothing doing! we give it up, let others come to it now." They (i.e. the Ngoni) thinking that (the Henga) would be fools in this and that their own young men would kill them without trouble, now found that those Henga fellows were wide awake.

Then they said, "Come on, the Machisa regiment," which was their own children and they advance on the cow. Then it was found that they come with knobkerries to strike the cow, they hold it and throw

¹The names given above were the old men of the writer's own family, and Chisovya a near neighbour.

²Literally, "with pillows beneath our heads"; a graceful phrase.

³An attempt to realise the meaning of the "vi-" prefix where, as here, it is used in reference to one's own friends and in glorification.

pakaŵa muNgoni yumoza wa lusungu, zina lakhe Sondwani, wali, "Imwe ŵaChimaraŵanthu, ŵa Muyunganiko, ŵa Chisovya; ŵaNgoni aŵa mbachenjezi, uko mukuya muchenjere chomene. Uwu ŵakuti, "Tisu-se mutotomera," ŵakuti tikome ŵalalaŵalala, ŵakhale ŵana pera, ndimo ŵakachitira na ŵadada kale, skono imwe mukachenjere." Para ŵa-Henga wali, "Kwali; leka waka wa munyithu, tapulika."

Para ngaŵakwiza mu wuNgoni ku nkosi, naŵo ŵalalaŵalala ŵaŵa-nenera ŵana ŵaŵo aŵo ŵali mu wuNgoni, ŵali, "Chenjerani, mwa ŵana! tititifwenge ndipo takafwa na vikunku ku mitu apa namwe wuNgoni mwawumanya makola lero. Oweya, mwa ŵana, tababa pera; tiwoneraniso." Ndipo para ŵaNgoni ŵakapa kusora ŵana ŵaŵo pera pa ŵekha, umu kale ŵakenderanga pamoza na ŵana ŵaHenga, skono ŵapatuka. Para ŵaHenga ŵali, "Inya nadi Sondwani waneneskanga nadi."

Ndipo para, ŵasanga ŵaNgoni, ŵali, "Liwanja (liwandhla) la Mamyu, ŵana ŵa ŵaHenga, wikani pasi visangu (vihlangu), mukore ng'ombe ya munkwala, visangu muwike pamoza." Skono ŵakukonkha mwakuti ŵana ŵaŵo ŵaŵakome makora chifukwa liwanja ilo likaŵa la nkhangono chomene, ndilo liwanja ili wakendangako Kanyoli na vinyakhe viŵanthu vikali chomene, vyakuluskaso ŵana ŵaNgoni.

Ndipo para visangu ŵakapa kuwika pasi, wati, "Tiyezge kuyikora ng'ombe"; ŵasanga ng'ombe njikali chomene, ngaŵakuleka. Para ŵaNgoni ŵali, "yikorani," ŵaHenga ŵali, "pawuli"! Ndipo ŵali, "titole nthongaso," ŵaNgoni, "Chara, muyikole na mawoko pera." Ŵa-Henga ŵali, "pawuli; taleka ise ŵizeko ŵanji skono." Umo iŵo ŵakatenge ŵapusire mwenemumo, na skono ŵana ŵithu ŵakome makola, ŵasanga navo viHenga vyachenjera. Para ŵali, "Zaninge Machisa," ndiwo ŵana ŵaŵo skono, aŵo ŵakwiza ku ng'ombe. Para ŵasanga ŵana ŵaŵo ŵakwiza na nthonga ŵakuyitimba ng'ombe, ngaŵakuyikola,

it down and cut off a leg and set it free alive. And then when they have cut up that meat they cooked it in broken pots on the fire and drank the medicine which they mixed with the meat and the Ngoni said, "You people who belong to us, get your medicine and drink quickly. Saying that they should drink the idea was that they (the Ngoni) would fall upon them (those drinking) and kill; and so when the medicine was ready yonder for the order, "Let us drink¹" they found their neighbours (i.e. the Henga) saying "Get on with it; look the Ngoni fellows' medicine is ready and they are drinking now"! And so the Henga, when they said "Let us drink," they found that the young Ngoni ran for their shields and came against the Mamyu (the Henga regiment). The Mamyu also took theirs and stood firm against them saying, "Come on! We'll thrash you and your grandmothers of the wooden spears"². Then the Ngoni when they stand ready, were taken with dismay because of fear that if they should go near they would be killed since those Henga fellows had their shields and furthermore were big lusty men. At that point some of the Henga ran off to their distant homes with the news, "People are finishing each other at the chief's kraal." Yet were their friends not standing up without anything happening, the Ngoni being afraid? And so Kanyoli danced before them in the kraal, singing,

"Are you Ngoni such cowards after all -
You who thought that was how you were to kill us?
Come on! Let us stab each other."

Thereupon the Ngoni were properly afraid and some (i.e. of the Henga) began to make off to their father's homes, some stayed on there in the Ngoni area saying, "No! let us see if they will kill us."

Then it happened when Chimarawantu was loading up his muzzle-gun it went off. . bang! and the sound travelled to the Ngoni who said, "Chimarawantu has rebelled; at his village at Mzokoto he has aimed his gun." And so all the Henga said, "Now we'll see each other; for those Ngoni are fairly roused"; and they said, "You who are our children there among the Ngoni; come here and leave those fellows by themselves there." Then their children came down (the valley) to their old people and later there came those of Muharure's Zinjowo regiment, where Kambondoma was, and then they said, "What remains (to be

¹The word "konha" is applied to sucking and is used here because the "medicine" was sucked from finger tips dipped in the brew.

²A terrific bit of impudence; "mikondo ya phundulu" are the roughest type of spear; simply a spear head fixed on a wooden shaft without either ornamentation or any metal weight or binding at the butt. The very last sort of weapon that an Ngoni would be seen with.

ngaŵayiwiska pasi, ngaŵakuyihemba karundi kamoza, ngaŵakutaya yamoyo . . . Ndipo para, ŵati ŵahemba nyama yira, ngaŵakupika ŵase-nga pa moto, ŵakumwerapo munkwala uwu wasazga na nyama ya ng'-ombe, ŵaNgoni wali, "Imwe, mwawani ŵanthu munkwala winu upye ruwilo, monkhe ruwilo." Para ŵakuti ŵakonkhenge uwo nga mwaŵira naŵo kukoma ; ndipo para, munkwala waŵo ngawakupya mula wakuti, "Tonkhenge," ŵasanga ŵanyaŵo naŵo wali, "Pemberani ruwilo ; aheni, ŵana ŵa ŵaNgoni waŵo wapya, ŵakonkha skono." Skono mula, ŵaHenga ŵakuti, "Skono tonkhenge," ŵasanga ŵana ŵa ŵaNgoni ŵakuchimbirira pa visangu vyawo, ŵakwiza ku Mamyu. Mamyu nagho ngaghakutola vyawo, ngayikwimikana waka para ŵaHenga ŵali, "Zaninge, timulupulani na ŵanyinamwekulu ŵa mikondo ya phundulu." Para ŵaNgoni, ngaŵa-kwimirira, soni zgaŵakola chifukwa ŵakopanga mwakuti, "Para ise tikuruta pafupi vyamkutikoma : viri na visangu vyaŵo nakwenenako vibarabadira viwi." Ndipo para ŵanyakhe ŵakuchimbira ŵaHenga aŵa kukwaŵo kukaŵa kutali uko ŵakuya, wali, "ŵanthu ŵamarana mu chiwaya cha nkhosi." Kasi ŵanyawo ŵimikana waka, ŵaNgoni ŵopa ? Ndipera para Kanyoli waŵagiya mumo mu chiwaya, wali,

"Kasi mwa ŵaNgoni muli ŵachenjezi doli,
Imwe mwatenge ndimo mutikomere ;
Zaninge pera ; tihembani na majosi " ?

Ndipera para ŵaNgoni ŵakapa kopa waka, pera ŵanyakhe ŵakapa kuruta ku ŵiskeŵo, ŵanyakhe ŵakapa kukhara mwenemumo mu wu-Ngoni, ŵali "Ng'o, tiwone para tiŵatikome."

Ndipo para Chimaraŵanthu ngawakusopera chibamu chakhe wa-glite "thu . . huu . . .", chibumuzi chayakafika na ku wuNgoni wuwo, wali, "Chimaraŵanthu wazganga ; chibamu ŵakulizizga ku Muzokoto, ku muzi wakhe." Ndipera para ŵaHenga ŵose ŵali, "Inya nadi, lero tiwonane vyazowa ivi vyaluska viwi." Ŵali, "Mwa ŵana, imwe muli uko ku wuNgoni, zaninge virekani vyekha uko." Para ŵana waŵo ŵa-kwikha kwiza ku ŵaŵiskeŵo, panyuma ngazikwiza zinjowo za kwa Mu-harure uko kukaŵa Kambondoma, ndipera para ŵali, "Skono kwakhala-

done) now? now that our children have all come it is the building of defences that remains." "You're right," they said.

When they had done this the old men and the headmen gathered together in conference putting this question to themselves, "Do you think that we should install our chief, Chikuramayembe? There were those who said, "No; we will leave the matter of Chikuramayembe over and have a chiefship in the Ngoni manner, when we have fought the Ngoni and they have cleared out, then we should place Chikuramayembe in power. At present let us choose Kanyoli who thoroughly understands Ngoni fighting, furthermore Mtwaro used him when washing with the war-charms and the army knows him well." And the Henga said "Yes; you have spoken right." These are the chiefs who assented:—Chimarawantu, Muyunganiko, Zimwanda, Chisovya, Chiwulazeru, Kayipereke, Zimakazi, Banana, Karimujiso, Zuka, Chawaka, Chiwerewere. But on the other hand the Nkamanga people said, "No;¹ we say that we should install Chirukamayembe," and they (i.e. the other section) said, "Right; if you want to install Chikuramayembe anew, stay with it, friends." And they said, "Yes, we will enthrone" and then they took Mujuma as their Chikuramayembe and put the turban of rule upon his head.

So then the Henga people lower down (the valley) said, "How are things, friends? have you finished the stockades there?" and the Nkamanga people said, "Yes." Kanyoli said, "I shall have a look now at those Ngoni fellows yonder and so he said, "Uyezwa na?"² and Kambondoma at Muhuju said, "Come on and let us go and see the Ngoni." So the army went out and slept one night on the road and when it was dawning it attacked at Chiphokoto, killing Ngoni until it stayed its hand and getting away with the cattle. When they thought to get back and tell their friends it was reported that Ngoni were arriving from one direction and another. They said, "Let us wait for them, you fellows." Then they waited and so when they arrived and burst upon them they got their teeth into each other³ and behold an Ngoni is down and they say, "Ehe! this is painful," and away the Ngoni ran. So Kanyoli came back home and danced to his heart's content. And the old men gave him a bull to eat with his army.

¹The only possible translation for "pawuli" here, as its derisive and contemptuous use is inapplicable in the circumstances.

²The opening words of the Ngoni announcement of important news from chief to people; copied by the Henga rebels.

³Literally, "chewing each other"; hand to hand fighting.

cheso ? apa wana witu ndiwo wiza wose, sono kwakhala kuzenga malinga pera, ndigho ghakhala." Wali, " Inya ; imwe."

Kwene wakati wachita, walala wose, zifumu zose, zikawunjikana kawupo, wakafumbananga mwakuti, " Kasi mukuti tikole fumu yithu Chikuramayembe ? " wanyakhe wali, " Cha ; skono Chikuramayembe tidange taleka nanga tichite ufumu wa chiNgoni nanga, para takomana nawo waNgoni awa wachimpira, ndipo talawika Chikuramayembe. Skono fumu tikore Kanyoli uyu wakumanya makola nkondo ya wuNgoni, nakwenenako Mtwalo wagezerangapo munkwala, na nkondo nayo wakuyimanya chomene." Para wa ku Henga kusika wali, " Inya, nadi mwaneneska." Zifimu izi zikazomerezganga ; waChimarawanthu, waMuyunganiko, waZimwanda, waChisovya, waChiwulazeru, waKayipereke, waZimakazi, waBanana, waKarimujiso, waZuka, waChawaka, waChiwerewere. Ndipo kwene wa ku Nkhamanga wose wakakana wali, " Pawuli ? ise tikuti tikole Chikuramayembe," ndipo wali, " Inya, para mwakhumba kukola Chikuramayembe waskono, khalani mwawanyithu." Ndipera wali, " Inya, ise tikolenge " ; para ngawakukola Mujuma wali Chikuramayembe yawo, mphumphu nyenye ku mutu.

Ndipera para, wa ku Henga kusika wali, " Wuli mwa wanyithu, kasi malinga mwamara uko ? " wa ku Nkhamanga wali, " Inya." Kanyoli wali, " Ine skono nikuti nkaviwone papa viNgoni." Ndipera para wali, " Uyezwa na ? " Kambondoma uko ku Muhuju, " Tiye tikaawone waNgoni." Ndipera para ngayikufuma ngawakugona zuwa limoza pa nthowa ; kukuti kuchenge ngayikuwirana pa Chipbokoto, nkukoma waNgoni kuleka waka, na ng'ombe wuwo yole. Wakuti wakupulikenge wanya wo ngawaphala waNgoni wafikanakufika, waHenga wali, " Imwe, tiwalinde." Para ngawakuwalinda ndipera para wawkwiza kati buli ; ngayikusumbililana, skonoskono muNgoni wali pasi, wakukati, " Hehe, vikuwinya," waNgoni wawakuchimbira waka mbii. Ndipera para, Kanyoli, ngakuwera kukaya, wagiya waleka waka. Ndipera para walala ngawakumupa nkuzi, wakulya na nkondo yake.

Then when they had rested a few months Kananyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga¹ sallied forth again, and the second leader Kambondoma, and they fought at Ndezo's village. Kanyoli looked up and found Ndezo ; Ndezo looked round and found Kanyoli and so Ndezo said " I will stab ! " but Kanyoli came at him and Ndezo fell, tried to rise and Kanyoli stabbed him, waving his shield to and fro he stretched his arm and took the gun ; " I have stabbed " and Chawaka came up saying, " I am with you, clansman."² So they burned the village of Ndezo and the Ngoni trembled, saying, " Oh dear ; we are going to die in these times since the Henga are managing to slay us like this ! "

And so the army returns yonder carrying the headrings which they had cut off from those killed that they might come and show them to the old men who had stayed behind at the villages. And thus doing, they came with singing, thus :—

Do you see Mbera, owner of cattle kraals ?

Do you see Mbera, owner of cattle kraals ?

Oh ! Hurrah !

Hurrah ! the man at the centre is trembling³

Hurrah !

(repeating the song at this point). `

And then having got home they rested a long time without going out again and furthermore they had hoeing to do first. But at Nkamanga no war party went out into the Ngoni country ; only Kanyoli and Kambondoma, leaders of the stockaded villages lower down.

Then in the cold season when the maize was sprouting one here one there,⁴ Mbera and Mtwalo said, " Uyezwa na ! ityo njalo "⁵ and mobilised Mwasi of Kasungu the Chewa with guns and said, " Let us go and kill the Henga," and also said, " Mwasi had better agree, he must not refuse." Had Mwasi refused then the Ngoni would have cleared out long ago for they were much afraid ; do you not understand that by calling in Mwasi they themselves had (realised that) their own strength was insufficient in that year ?

¹ The " Praise Names " of Kanyoli.

² An Ngoni phrase.

³ " Mpakati " may mean either " the one at the centre of things " or it may refer to the clan " Pakati " nearly related to Mbera.

⁴ That is, towards the end of February.

⁵ Another attempt at the Ngoni herald's call :—

" Uyezwa na ! ityo njalo Nkosi ! " " Hear ! thus saith the King ! "

Para ngaŵakugonapo mwezi yichoko waka ngaŵakufumaso Kanya-
nyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga, na kaputeni wachiwiri Kambondoma,
ngaŵakuwirana pa muzi (wa) Ndezo. Kanyoli wakukati maso, wasanga
ndi Ndezo ; Ndezo wakukati maso wasanga ndi Kanyoli ; ndipera Ndezo
wali, “ Ndizogwaza mina,” Kanyoli wachite thu . . , chagona cha Ndezo,
chikapakuwuka cha Ndezo chagwaza kwa Kanyoli wakapakupenenkhula
na chibamu chikapa wewepu, wati amaskaza nga wakwiza Chawaka, wati,
“ Ngilinawe, munakwetu.” Ngawakocha muzi wa Ndezo, ndipera ŵa-
Ngoni ŵatenthema, ŵali, “ Haha ; titifwenge ise lero pakuti ŵaHenga
manyathakutikoma thaula.”

Ndipera para, ndayikuwera yimbi, ŵachita thaula vizgozgo ŵayegha
ivi ŵakadumulanga ku aŵa ŵakomanga ŵizamulongora ku ŵalala ŵa
mizi aŵa ŵakukhala pa mizi. Skono ŵakuchita thaula, ŵakwiza pakwi-
mba, kuli :—

“ Uyamuwona Mwambera wa ziwaya,
O, uyamuwona Mwambera wa ziwaya hinina,
Onje hinina,
Hinina mpakati waziyaziya,
Hinina.”

(Kwene rusumu uru muwerezgegengapo penepapo).

Ndipera para, yati yawera iyo, ŵakagonapo chomene ŵambura ku-
rutaso, nakwenenako ŵakalimanga nanga. Kwene ku Nkhamanga kuti
ŵakafumako nkondo yakuya ku ŵaNgoni chara ; Kanyoli na Kambondo-
ma, ŵakaputeni ŵa malinga ghakusika.

Ndimu mula, kukuti kuŵenge na chifuku, ngoma zgati waka yimo-
za-yimoza phu-phu-phu. Ndipera para Mwambera na Mtwalo wati,
“ Uyezwa na ? ” Chenjalo” (ityo njalo), ngaŵakukumba Mwasi wa ku
Kasungu, muChewa uyo wakaŵa na vibamu, ŵali, “ Tendenge, tikakome
ŵaHenga,” wati, “ naye Mwasi wazomere waleke kukana.” Ndawaka-
nenge Mwasi ipo ŵaNgoni ngaŵalikuchimbira papo kale, chifukwa ŵaka-
tenthema chomene ; imwe hamunyirenge (? ha mumanyirenge) pakuya-
kakumba Mwasi, ŵekha nkongono zikaperera myaka iyo.

And so they mobilised Mwasi in that way and came with him against Mwendera Wadokota (there was no food in the stockade)¹ and got their teeth into each other at the stockade, and although Mwasi let off his guns they fought on till the sun went ; and on the following day they fought till the sun went ; and next day they started early and fought till the sun went and so doing many Ngoni died seeing that within the stockade also the guns were many belonging to Mwendera and those Chewa fellows died in plenty, and we also, of course ; it is no use attempting to deny it or make random assertions.

Then the Ngoni said, " It's no use ; they're too much for us ; let us get back." Then the Ngoni began tying up their loads that they might go home when a woman slipped out of the stockade and said, " Where are you going, my fathers ? Is there life left in the stockade ? has hunger not killed ? " The Ngoni fellows said, " Ho-ho ! is that so ? " Then they went at it with fury, Mujuma being already killed whom they held to be the Chikuramayembe and Mwendera now remaining alone fighting with them. Then when they came on thus again hunger overcame Mwendera in the stockade and he said, " I surrender, my fathers." The Ngoni said, " Come out of the stockade ; come here and all your family." And then Mwendera came out of the stockade and they took him. . crack ! on the forehead and killed Mwendera in cold blood, those cattle stealers ! That is the death of Mwendera.

When it was heard in Henga lower down that they had killed Mwendera in cold blood they were in low spirits , then the cattle stealers went home to their villages.

Then there passed a short time and Mperembe's son Waso also came out with a very large war party going to slaughter people at Mwazise near Nkamanga. And so, Kanyoli got a rumour of them and said, " That's where we'll go and see each other ; just there." And he sent out the summons, " Uyezwa na ? down there my comrade Kambondoma ; come on and we'll lie in wait for our friends "² and Kambondoma said, " Let us go there ! we'll meet them lest these Ngoni come to think that they can make a habit of this kind of thing."

Then a great army went out since Kwenda went by itself and Sikwaliwene went by itself (Kwenda being Kanyoli's regiment and Sikwaliwene,

¹ The year was 1879 ; determined by a visit by Mr. John Moir to Mwendera at the very time that news of the Ngoni approach had come in. The month must have been April or May as the new crops had not been harvested and the annual hunger period was on.

² Ironical use of the word " friends " for their late oppressors.

Ndipera para, wati wakumba ntaula waNgoni ngawakwiza nayo pa Mwendera Wadokota, (skono wachita vyakulgha, mulive mu linga), ngayikusumbirana pa linga wateko, nanga Mwasi fu, na vibamu yasumbana dazi ngo, namachero yachezgana yasumbana dazi ngo, namachero ngayikucherezgana yasumbana dazi ngo, wakuchita nthaula waNgoni wakufwa chomene, namanga namo mu linga vibamu yika wa vinandi vya Mwendera, navyo viChewa vyafwa vyareka, nase inyaso mukuzomera viwi bweka pakukana mwarekerangachi ?

Para waNgoni, "a-a-a-; watitonda; tiwerenge." Mula skono waNgoni wakuti tikakakenge mphingo zgawo wawerenge, waka mwanakazi sotopo mu linga, wali, "Mukuyankhu, watata? Mbamoyo mula mu linga? njara nthayakoma cha?" ViNgoni viri, "Kwali." Para ngavikugowerera nkhanira papo skono wakuchita nthaula Mujuma vyakoma papo kale, uyo wakatenge ndiyo Chikuramayembe; skono wakhala Mwendera pera ndiyo wakalimbana nayo. Para wati wagowera nthaula, Mwendera njara yakoma mu linga, Mwendera wali, "Skono ndathera, watata." ViNgoni viri, "Fuma mu linga; zanga kuno na mbumba wuwo." Ndipera para, Mwendera ngawakufuma mu linga wengekati pa, pamaso puli, ngavikukoma waka vyaZowa Mwendera. Ndiko kwafwa kwa Mwendera.

Para yikapulika ku Henga kusika mwakuti Mwendera vyakoma waka, lusoko woghoyo: para vyaZowa ngavikuruta kukaya ya wo.

Ghapitapo mazuwa ghanandi pachoko waka para mwana wa Mpere-mbe, zina lahke Waso, nayo ngawakufuma nkondo yakhe nayo yinandi chomene, wakayanga kukoma wanthu kwa Mwazise kumoza na ku Nkhamanga. Ndipera para, waKanyoli ngawakupulika na wo na kantini kose, wali, "Papaapa tikawonane papa." Para ngawalikumemeza, wali, "Uyezwa na? Kusika uko wa munyane, Kambondoma, tiye tikhali-re wanyithu." Kambondoma wali, "Tiye papo, tikakumane na wo wanga-luluka waNgoni a wa."

Para ngayikufuma yimbi nayo yinandi chomene pakuti Kwenda nako pakwekha Sikwaliwene nayo pa yekha, (Kwenda, ndiyo Kanyoli;

Kambondoma's); the first to go into the fighting being Kanyoli, Kambondoma holding himself under orders in the rear being the second-in-command.

And so they found them at Mwazisi, they had even built rough huts, and when they had lain up close to each other they sent scouts¹ and they spied on them and found them unsuspecting² and came back saying, "They are here and their war party is very numerous; it's questionable if we'll do much."

Kanyoli said, "Not at all; it is just mere numbers," and so in the early morning light a roar went up from the Majerehenga³ and a gun was loosed off in Kanyoli's enclosure and the Ngoni asked, "Who's that"? and some said, "It's the Majerehenga." Then, thus doing, fighting began with the stabbing spears and Ngoni died till they stopped. Meanwhile, Kanyoli having begun, Kambondoma remained quiet with his force, (once) the Zinjowo of Muharure, over there where was Waso in all his glory even to the crow's feather headdress. Then suddenly he burst in, the son of Mperembe, saying, "I will stab, says Mperembe," and then he got Zimakazi and had him down, then he got Mubata and him down, and then another and had him down, he accounted for three Henga. Then the Kwenda regiment said, "This is painful," and ran and yet there was Kambondoma holding himself back (of course the eyes of the Kwenda regiment were there since the start otherwise they would not have run). And so Kambondoma and his company got going and the Ngoni Waso looked round and saw Kambondoma, Kambondoma looked round and saw Waso and found that he was on him. Waso said, "I will stab says Mperembe," and Kambondoma said, "I will stab says Madakacha."⁴ Then Waso let fly a throwing spear and Kambondoma jumped, the spear going below him and he took a throwing spear and said, "I'll finish Waso," who jumped and the spear passed under him; and he took another spear and said, "I'll get my spear in Kambondoma," who jumped and the spear passed underneath and Kambondoma took another spear and said, "I'll hit Waso" who jumped and the spear went below, and Waso took another spear to stab at Kambondoma and it came right through his shield and took him on the little finger, a mere nothing.

¹ The Ngoni word for scouts.

² Literally, "foolish."

³ By this time the Henga rebels, in addition to taking names of their own (as above) for their two regiments, had also taken to themselves as a whole the name "Majerehenga," combining the royal clan name of the Ngoni, "Jere," with their own.

⁴ Both combatants invoke or announce not their own personal names but the names of their respective fathers; a rather Homeric touch.

Sikwaliwene, ndiyo Kambondoma) ; pakudanga kulwa nkondo wakadanga Kanyoli, Kambondoma wakatheranga pamanyuma chifukwa wakaŵa wachiwiri.

Ndipera para, ngayikuŵasanga pa Mwazisi yazenga vikonji nawe ; para ngayikugonerana pafupi waka yatuma ziskoli (zihloli) zgayakaskola zgasanga wapusu, ngazikuyakawera zili, “Ŵali pano ndipo nkondo njinandi chomene ; manyi, para tachita kanthu.”

Kanyoli wali, “Ng’o ; mbunandi wa waka uwu.” Ndipera para, ngakukucha ngwe, ngayikuduma ya majerehenga wachi thu chibama cha mu linga wa Kanyoli, para ŵaNgoni ngaŵakufumba wali, “Ngamani na ?” ŵanyaŵo ŵali, “Ngamajerehenga.” Para yikuchita nthaula kulwegha yasumbirira na majozi, ŵafwa ŵaNgoni ŵaleka. Skono ŵachita thaula wadanga Kanyoli, Kambondoma wali chete nanga na mawanja ghake njowo ya kwa Muharure, uko kuli Waso wakugowa nanga njukula. Wati wakukati thu mwana wa ku Mperembe, Waso, wati, “Sondizogwaza ndityo Mperembe.” Para ngachikutola ŵaZimakazi chaweka pasi, ngachikutola ŵaMubata chaweka pasi, ngachikutola munyakhe chaweka pasi, chatapo ŵaHenga watatu. Ndipera ya ku Kwendeni yiri, “Vyawingha,” skono ngayikuchimbira, ndipera para ngawakuthera Kambondoma, (wakuchita thaula maso gha Kwendeni ghali kuku mumu ghawambira chichimbira chara). Ndipera para Kambondoma na mawanja ghake ngaŵakuwamba, muNgoni Waso wakuyakati maso, wasanga ndi Kambondoma, Kambondoma wakukati maso, wasanga ndi Waso wafika ; Waso wati, “Sondizogwaza mina ndityo Mperembe,” nayo Kambondoma wali, “Ndizogwaza mina ndityo Madakacha.” Ndipera para Waso ngawakuwerepura luti, wati, “Ndiskome kwa Kambondoma,” Kambondoma waduka luti pasi nonono, Kambondoma walutola luti, wati, “Ndibule cha Waso,” chaduka luti lwati pasi nonono, chikapa kulutola lunyakhe cha Waso chati, “Ndiskome kwa Kambondoma,” cha Kambondoma chaduka luti pasi nonono, chikapakulutola cha Kambondoma chati, “Ndiskome kwa Waso,” wakapakuduka nalu luti pasi nonono, cha Waso chikapakulutola chaskoma kwa Kambondoma lukwiza mu chisango phowo, lwamuti ku kamunwe the, kachoko waka. Ekwe ; ndimo wachiti-

I tell you ! that he should do a thing like that ! and Kambondoma took a spear that buried itself in the abdomen and Waso collapsed on the ground saying, " That's certainly one for me." Then from every side men rushed in shouting and whistling and Ngwenyama dashed up and thrust his spear. Then another and another rushed in and stabbed, and they finished off Waso.

So then the Ngoni said, " This is painful now," and their regiment fled, the Henga saying, " Now kill people " ; then they were at the big pool, splashing through it, and they (the Henga) said, " Jump on them and tread them down ! finish the lot " ! and only a very few fled from there. Then they (the Henga) buried their three slain and took quantities of the shields of the dead Ngoni ; one man taking three, another two, another four.

Thus was the death of Ngoni at Mwazisi ; to-day if you enquire as to the death-roll at Mwazisi the war-party of the Majerehenga, you will find them saying, " Don't talk about it, please."

And so when they fell back (i.e. the Henga) they found their comrades who had run off waiting for them by the path. Then Kambondoma said, " We your friends have finished all those Ngoni," and Kanyoli said, " Thanks ; you have done well."

Then as they were getting back home it happened that they found a war-party in the path, another Ngoni party coming, and challenging, " Who do you belong to ? " and the Henga said, " To Emciseni " ;¹ and the Henga also asked, " Who do you belong to ? " and the Ngoni said, " To Emciseni ; " and the Henga said, " Aha ! now let us sit down and send three that they may go (i.e. to investigate)." Then they sent three, Chiswamutenji and Chani and one other and when they went to the Ngoni they also sent three, a son of Mperembe and another also, they on their side three. When they met in between they asked each other how things had gone with them in the raiding and those people thought that they really were their comrades, not knowing that they were the Majerehenga fellows. Then up went the knobkerrie of Chiswamutenji and down, crack ! with full force, and the spear in with a plunge, and the other two fled ; that was another son of Mperembe they had killed. So then the party returned and when it got into the vicinity of home it began to sing :—

¹ Emciseni, written by the author in the nearest local form that he can think of to reproduce the Zulu "c" click, was the name of Mperembe's chief village. The Henga, expecting other parties from Mperembe to be about, give themselves out to be Ngoni belonging to Mperembe also.

raso, cha Kambondoma chikapakulutola luti, chati lose waka swenu mu chiwuno, waka Waso kokololo pasi, chati, "Kakulu nguwami loyo." Para yatiwaka uku uku fipu kwati chochocho malukhweru, ndipera ngakulotoka Ngwenyama wati amaskaza yunji nayo. Ngawakulotokaso munyakhe wati amaskaza, ngawakulotokaso munyakhe, ngawakumarizga Waso.

Ndipera para, waNgoni wali, "Vyawingha skono," ngayikusuka ya waNgoni, waHenga wati, "Komani wanthu skono"; wawati waka pa chiziwa lipililipi"; wati, "Phwatani wanthu namwe, wose petu," wachimbirapo wachoko waka ndipera. Para ngawakusunga wanyaŵo aŵa wakafwa watatu, visangu vya waNgoni wakatora vinandi chomene vya aŵa wakafwanga; munthu yumoza vitatu, yunji viwiri, yunji vinayi.

Ndimu wakafwira waNgoni pa Mwazisi; lero ngati ufumbe kuti, "Mukafwa wuli pa Mwazisi na nkondo ya Majerehenga?" tiusange wali, "Leka waka."

Ndipera para ngayikuwera yasanga wanyaŵo aŵa wachimbara wakulindira pa ntowa. Para Kambondoma wali, "Taŵanyinu tamara wose waNgoni wara," Kanyoli wali, "Yewo; mwachita makola."

Ndipera para, ngayikuwera skono, yendekati pa ntowa wasanga yimbi, yinyakhe yikwiza ya waNgoni, wali, "Mungamani na?" para waHenga wali, "Ngumuthiseni"; nawo waHenga wali, "Mungamani?" waNgoni wali, "Ngumuthiseni."

WaHenga wali, "Eyaya, skono tikhale pasi, titume watatu walute." Para ngawatuma watatu, Chiswamutenji na Chani na yunjeso, para ngawakuruta kura ku waNgoni nako watuma mwana wa Mperembe na yunjeso, naŵo watatu. Para ngawakukumana pakati, ndipera para wakufumbana za nkondo mumu wenderanga iŵo wakatenge nadi mbanyawo, kumanya kuti vimajerehenga cha. Para ngachikumuwusizgamu nthonga cha Chiswamutenji yose ka, mukondo wose gu; wanyakhe wawiri mbi kuya ku wanyaŵo; mwana wa Mperembe munyakhe wakomaso. Ndipera para ngayikuwera nkondo yizakati ku muzi kufupi yambako kwimba, kuli:—

“ Hayilhazelhaze, hayilhazelhaze,
 Lizgeni laŵafo hayilhaze sina,
 Nguwani wazichuka, I nguwani wazichuka lizgani la ŵafo ?
 Hayilhazi sina Mbera, O, Mbera wazichuka lizgeni la ŵafo,
 Hayilhazi sina, Kanyoli wazichuka, O Kanyoli wazichuka lizgeni
 la ŵafo,
 Hayilhazi sina.”¹

And so it arrived at the village and they recounted to the old men how the fighting had gone ; then the old men were very much pleased and said, “ It was we who begat you, children ! you have accomplished something.”²

HOW THE HENGA FLED TO LAKE NYASA.

And so time passed and the crops were harvested and at the height of the hot season we³ said, “ There’s something there ! those cattle lifters have called up their man Mwasi, that Chewa.” And the army approached Kanyoli’s stockade⁴ and they said, “ The raiders have arrived outside there ” and then he said, “ Let us have a look ” and he found the place black with them and the light glinting on the guns, and said, “ They’ve mobilised Mwasi, have they ? ” and the others said, “ Yes ; that’s so.” Kanyoli said, “ Oh ye old men, this army is more than we can face here ; let us go to the country of the Nkonde, that is where we should go.”

Then the old fellows said, all of them, “ You speak the truth, child ! ” and he sent off a man saying, “ You our friends there at Muhuju, this army to-day is beyond us ; let us make off and go to Kondeland.”⁵ Then when they too said, “ Yes, you speak truth,” so they said, “ Let the women and children leave the stockade.” And the families

¹This song as written is entirely meaningless ; being an attempt to reproduce an Ngoni war-song, after a lapse of years, by a man who was only a youth at the time when the original song was sung. It puts Kanyoli on the same plane as Mbera in victory and pride.

²Here as in many other places, no attempt has been made to render the exclamatory “ Cha ! ” because of its difficulty. It is actually the everyday negative “ No ” ; but used in such circumstances as the above means something like, “ It is almost impossible to believe ” or “ You don’t say so ” !

³The appearance from this point onwards of the 1st person plural marks the period when the writer, then about ten years old, began to be personally interested in the events he describes. The year was, almost certainly, 1880.

⁴The stockade was just north of the Ng’onga Stream in the Henga valley at the point where to-day the large Euphorbia Candelabra grows at the side of the Government Road.

⁵The Muhuju stockade was under Kambondoma and the Henga clan.

“ Hayilhazelhaze, hayilhazelhaze,
 Lizgeni la w̄afo hayilhaze sina,
 Nguwani wazichuka, I nguwani wazichuka lizgani la w̄afo ?
 Hayilhazi sina Mbera, O, Mbera wazichuka lizgeni la w̄afo,
 Hayilhazi sina, Kanyoli wazichuka, O Kanyoli wazichuka lizgeni
 la w̄afo,
 Hayilhazi sina.”

Ndipera yafika mu muzi w̄awandulira w̄alalaw̄alala mumu yakendera nkondo ; para w̄alalaw̄alala w̄asekera chomene, w̄ali, “ Cha ! w̄ana tilikubaba imwe, w̄achita kanthu.”

UMO WAKACHIMBIRA WAHENGWA KUNYANJA.

Ndipera para, tagona tagona vyakulgha w̄alonga mu nthamba, na chihanya chikuru tati, “ kanthu ako ; vyazowa vyakumbaso Mwasi w̄awo muChewa uyo.” Ngayikwiza pa linga la Kanyoli wali, “ Vyazowa vyafika kuwaro,” para wali, “ Tiwoneko,” wasanga vyati waka bi, vibamu vyati waka tuu, wali, “ W̄akumbaso Mwasi ? ” W̄anji w̄ali, “ Inyaso.” Kanyoli wali, “ Imwe mwa w̄alala, nkondo iyi kuti tilwere muno cha ; tilutenge ku Nkhonde, ndiko tiye.”

Para w̄alala w̄ose w̄ali, “ Inya nadi waneneska wa mwana,” nga wakutuma munthu wali, “ Imwe mwa w̄anyithu, uko ku Muhuju, nkondo iyi yatisowa lero ; tidawule, tiye ku Nkhonde.” Para nawo w̄ali, “ Inya mwaneneska,” ndipera para wali, “ Mbumba yifumenge.” Para mbu-

went out, the hills being close by, and they went up into the hills heading for Muhuju. And doing so, the war drum beat, saying, "They have broken in and come carrying heads."¹ Then the Ngoni said, "Kanyoli is inside there ; go for him carefully to begin with ; he is very dangerous," yet had he not run off ? And so having evacuated everything, the cattle and the goats, the women and children, they got off and reached Muhuju and said, "Now things are better ;" and Kanyoli said, "Burn the houses and the grain stores and the food." Then as the burning carried everything before it,² the Ngoni saw what was happening, "People are clearing off," and there was a rush on the stockade while those getting away cried, "Come up the hills here ; we'll put you through it, you and your fighting grandmothers." When they got to their friends at Muhuju they joined forces and remained on the lower slopes while the women and children climbed up to the forest at the top. And so the Ngoni arrived at Muhuju to find the stockade thick with smoke and when they looked about they found the forces of the Majerehenga crowding black on the foothills.

"Let us go there," said the Ngoni ; in front were their Kasungu people with the guns popping, and the Henga said, "Come here with that flint gun." When it came, "bang !" it was off on its errand and it got two of the Kasungu men and laid them flat and (the force) fell back. Then said the Henga, "No following them now ; let us be off and get up the hill," and so they climbed up to the forest, the Ngoni going off to the Siska country and slaying people there.

Then the whole force of the Henga climbed down to Chiweta and when at Chiweta it stayed for some considerable time.

Then they said, "Come on to Vuwa," and they went to Vuwa ; some stayed in Chiweta, some with Mwamlowe, others in Chitimba, others at the Hara plain ; Kanyoli was at Wukanga ; Chisovya and Chiwulazeru and Chawaka and Muyunganiko were the ones who were at Vuwa, near the Lake. But many headmen in addition to these stayed behind in the districts I have detailed.³

¹No attempt made to reproduce the drum-throb as in the original ; an old descriptive sentence dating from a time when the verb "kuleta" was in use for "to bring" or "to carry." It is not used today.

²This "thibu" is the root from which came the name "tibu-tibu" which early travellers converted into Tipoo-tib.

³This distribution of the Henga refugees carries them up the point nearest to the southern limit of the Konde territory under the Chungu. The description of this lake shore strip in 1875 is "sparsely inhabited by a miserable people," but the arrival of the Henga changed all that and brought about the settlement that exists today at all these points. "Wukanga" is the area now in cotton along the Nyungwe Stream.

mba ngayikufuma na pa mapiri ghakaŵa pafupi waka, mbumba ngayikufuma yakwera malupiri yikuya ku Muhuju. Wākuchita thaula ng'oma yikulira ya wukali, kuli, "Waleta nju nju, walowa nju nju, waleta mŵu." Para vyazowa vili, "Wali mumu, Kanyoli; mwambe nayo makola, ndi mukali viwi," kasi munyaŵo wakuchimbira? ndipera para vyati vyafuma vinthu vyose, zing'ombe na zimbuzi na ŵanakazi na ŵana wuwo, ŵaluta ŵafika ku Muhuju, ŵali, "Skono ndipo," Kanyoli wali, "Ochani nyumba na zinthamba za vyakulgha." Para ngawakocha thibu, ŵaNgoni ŵakuyakati, "Ŵanthu ŵakuluta," ngayikudumira mu linga ŵanyaŵo ŵakufuma ŵali, "Zaninge kuno ku mapiri," timunyekezani na ŵanyinakuru ŵa mahomwa." Para ngaŵakayakafika ku ŵanyaŵo ku Muhuju ngayikutolerezgana waka yakhala mu lupiri musi, mbumba yakwera ku nguyi kuchanya. Ndipera para, ngaŵakwiza ŵaNgoni pa Muhuju ŵasanga mu linga josi lghati waka ga; ŵati tikati maso, ŵasanga yati waka bii mu lupiri musi ya majerehenga.

ŴaNgoni ŵali, "Soyekona"; ngaŵakudanga ŵanthu ŵaŵo ŵa ku Kasungu na vibamu kwati thu-thu-thu, ŵaHenga ŵali, "Chibamu cha muli icho, zani nacho." Ngachikwiza ŵachiti thu uyakhonjokowani chatora ŵa ku Kasungu ŵawiri chawika pasi, yasuka. Para ŵaHenga wali, "Skono kuŵarondezga cha, tirutenge tikwerenge," ngaŵakukwera ku nguyi kuchanya, zowa ngaŵakuyaya ku Usiska ndipo ŵakayakakoma ŵanthu apa.

Ndipera para, ya ŵaHenga yose ngayikwikira ku Chiweta, ndipo para pa Chiweta yagonagona.

Para ŵali, "Tirutenge ku Vuwa," ngayikuruta ku Vuwa; ŵanji ŵakhala mu Chiweta, ŵanji pa Mulowe, ŵanji mu Chitimba, ŵanji mu Hara; Kanyoli wakaŵa ku Wukanga; kuti ŵaChisovya na ŵaChiwulazero na Chawaka na ŵaMuyuniganiko ndiŵo wakaŵa mu Vuwa, ku nyanja kufupi. Kwene zifumu zinyakhe zinandi zikakhala kunyuma mu vyalo ivi ndawerenga apa.

THE END OF THE HENGA IN KONDELAND.

Now, however, I wish to lay before you, my friends, the full story about the person who finished us Henga. For we Henga were not finished off by the Ngoni. The one who was the end of us is Mwasewa, one of the Mwamba people from the Mwamba country.¹ That man quarrelled and fought with his own clan and then his clan called in against him the Arab Malamula. Then that Arab burned Mwasewa out and he fled from his land which is that where Mwakalinga is now and the uYonde country ; that is the country of Mwasewa.

So then Mwasewa said, " I have been burned out," and came into Kondeland and repeated the action, burning Malamula out. And then when Mwasewa heard that Kanyoli was at Vuwa he came bringing two bulls and arrived at Kanyoli's.

He said, " My father ; come and help me, your servant," and Kanyoli said " What's the matter ? "

Mwasewa said, " My people have chased me out of my land in Mwamba."

Kanyoli said, " Is that so ; wait till I ask the old men ; when they agree I will go with you."

And so Kanyoli gave the question to the seniors and they consented, saying, " Since a person has wished us, it is good ; go with him." Then Kanyoli took one of the bulls and said, " Deliver that to Kambondoma ;" and it went and he accepted it, Kanyoli saying, " Now let us go with our fighting force " ; but Kambondoma refused and the whole of his Sikwaliwene regiment refused.

Then the Kwenda regiment alone made to start, and the Moya regiment (because Moya was along with Kwenda, even in the earlier time) and the army set out and arriving in the Konde territory it took along with it all the Konde in the Ngerenge neighbourhood. When it arrived at Mwakatundu's the fight began before even it began to dawn. The fighting grew fierce and one looking around saw a Mwamba on the ground and turning this way, there was another down ; and saying " This is painful," they ran for it. Then they captured the cattle undisturbed. (Since they looted the cattle and took them off tied with tree roots you will note that these are the cattle that became plentiful in Kondeland ; were there cattle in the old days in Kondeland ? Since when !) And so the

¹Around the north end of Lake Nyasa in the section now under the Tanganyika Mandate.

UMO WAKAMARIRA WAHENGHA KU UNKONDE.

Kwene skono nkukhumba kumudandaulilani chilawo, mwa wanya-ne, na munthu uyo wali kumara ta waHenga. Kwene ta waHenga kuti tirikumara na wazowa cha. Uyo walikutimara ise ndi Mwasewa, mu-Mwamba wakafuma ku uMwamba. Yura wakambana na wanyakhe, wakakomananga nayo; para wanyakhe wamukumbira Malamula Mwlabu. Para Mwlabu yura ngawakamuwocha Mwasewa, wachimbira mu charo chakhe, ndi chira muli Mwakalinga lero na cha uYonde ndicho charo cha Mwasewa.

Ndipera para, Mwasewa wali, “Nda munthu, ndapya,” ngawakwiza ku uNkhonde wakuchita mu uNkhonde namo, mwapya Malamula wocho. Ndipera, para Mwasewa wati wapulika mwakuti Kanyoli wali ku Vuwa, ngawakwiza wayegha ng’ombe zganarume ziwiri, wizakafika kwa Kanyoli.

Para wali, “watata we, kandovwile, nda munthu wako,” Kanyoli wali, “Vichi?”

Mwasewa wali, “Wanyane walikundichimbizga mu charo chane ku Mwamba.”

Kanyoli wali, “Kwali; reka nanga ndifumbe walala wose; para wazomera, ndipo tirute nawe.”

Ndipera para, Kanyoli wapakufumba walala wose, walala ngaŵakuzomera, wali, “Apa munthu watikhumba, chiweme ruta nayo.” Para Kanyoli ngawakutola ng’ombe yinyakhe, wali, “Kaperekani kwa Kambondoma;” para ngayikuruta ng’ombe wayakapoka, Kanyoli wali, “Skono tilutenge nkondo yitu”; para Kambondoma wakana, Sikwaliwene yose yakana.

Para yikapakuruta ya Kwenda pera na Moya (chifukwa Moya ukawa pamoza na Kwenda, na kale wuwo), ndipera para ngayikufuma nkondo yiyekati mu uNkhonde ngayikwendakatora waNkhonde wose mu Ngerenge mula yaruta naŵo pera. Para ngayikufika mwa Mwakatundu kukuti kuchenge ngwe, yawirana kale. Para ngayikuwambana guwuwu, ndizungulukenge muMwamba wali pasi, wakuti ting’anamukire muno, munyaike wali pasi; wakuyakati “vyawingha,” ngaŵakusuka mbii. Para ngaŵakuyola waka ng’ombe (apo wakayola ng’ombe na musisi wa pasi, apera ndizo ng’ombe zikazala mu uNkhonde; kasi kale zikawamo ng’ombe zinandi mu uNkhonde? Pauli). Ndipera para, ngayikuwera para

army came back intact and rejoicing because of the successful return. Many songs are sung at the return from war.

NOW I WISH TO NARRATE TO YOU THE BATTLE OF KAMBONDOMA.

When Kambondoma heard that his comrade Kanyoli had looted cattle he said to himself, "Kanyoli has looted cattle at that place; I must get off too at all costs." Then the whole Sikwaliwene regiment's heart arose and Kambondoma came to Kanyoli, saying, "I am going also, give me your regiment;"¹ and Kanyoli said, "Not at this time, there is much water; the dry season is the time." Because in the dry season there is no water.² Then Kambondoma repeated his intention and Kanyoli refused saying, "Go to the old men, then; I have nothing to say." And Kambondoma went to the old men to make his request for a fighting party and then the old men said, "Is that so? you want a fighting party?" and he said, "Yes"; then the old men said, "Since there is a lot of water at this time how will the army travel?" and he said, "That's nothing! let us go;" and the old men said, "Take the fighters then, we agree."

And so Kambondoma sent out the call, "Let the army grind rations, and then they got the food ready³ and it being he there was not a solitary man remained since they saw the cattle that Kanyoli had looted the first time; Kanyau Bichi Qondama Kanamanga, his Praise-names.

And so the army set out clearing out Vuwa and the Fulirwa people the natives of the soil and the women also, saying, "Let us go and eat ~~beams~~," because they knew Kambondoma to be an exceedingly fierce leader and experienced in warfare, and real fighter and slayer; Jumbe Kajawa Tondoli Bugundubugundu wavimeta vya mu ntumbo wamuzira kuyiwona, his Praise-names.

So on arrival at Mlare they said, "Let us go; if you refuse we will stab you," and at Lupembe and at the Nkonde villages and at Ngerenge, it was, "Come on; if you refuse we will stab you," then the whole of Kondeland made to go with Kambondoma. That was a tremendously big force; Kanyoli's was small.

¹ "Yimbi" is the Hengaised form of Zulu "Impi."

² Referring to the marshes at the north end of Nyasa, so impassable as to hold up even the campaign of 1914-1915 during the wet months.

³ "Yisire mpako"; in imitation of the Ngoni war-herald's method of announcing an impending expedition or raid.

yose yasekera chomene chifukwa yimbi yawera makola. Malusumu ghanandi ghakwimba pa kuwera nkondo.

SKONO NKUKHUMBA KUDANDAULILA IMWE NA NKHONDO YA KAMBONDOMA.

Ndipera Kambondoma, wati wapulika mwakuti munyakhe Kanyoli wayola ng'ombe wati waka mutima mwa, wali, "Kanyoli wayola ng'ombe papa apa; pauli, nanenkuluta." Para Sikwaliwene yose mutima wamwalira, para Kambondoma ngawakwiza kwa Kanyoli, wali, "Nane nkuruta, undipe yimbi"; Kanyoli wali, "Skono chara, kuli maji ghanandi; na chihanya ndipo." Chifukwa chakuti mu chihanya maji kuwavya. Para Kambondoma wazomeraso, wakana, Kanyoli wali, "Rutangaso ku walala, ine ndekha nirivye mazgu." Para Kambondoma ngawakuluta ku walala kuyakaromba yimbi, ndipera para walala wali, "Kwali, iwe ukukhumba yimbi?" wali, "Inya"; para walala wali, "Apa skono kuli maji ghanandi tiwende uli na yimbi?" iye wali, "ng'o! tilutenge," walala wali, "Lutanga nayoso yimbi, ise tazomera."

Ndipera para, Kambondoma ngawakumemeza wali, "Yisire mpako," para nga kusira mpako, ha iyo ndiyo pakawavyaso munthu wakukhara chifukwa wakawona ng'ombe izo wakayola pakudanga na Kanyoli Biti Thondama Kanamanga (vihayu vyakhe ivi skono).

Ndipera ngayikufuma yimbi iyo mu Vuwa mose pye-pye-pye na waFulirwa wuwo wenecho wa charo, na wanakazi wuwo wali, "Tikargheko nchungu," chifukwa nayo Kambondoma wakamumanyanga kuti nayo ndi kaputeni mukali chomene, wakamanya nkondo chomene, akalwanga chomene na kugwaza wuwo, Jumbe Kajawa Tondoli Bugudubugudu wavimeta vyamuthumbu wamuzira kuyiwona (ivi ndivyo vihayu vya Kambondoma).

Ndipera yiyekati mu Mlare wali, "Tihambé; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano";
yiyekati mu Lupembe wali, "Tihambe; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano";
yiyekati mu uNkhonde wali, "Tihambe, para mwakana tindigwazenge papano";
yiyekati mu Ngerenge wali, "Tihambe; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano";
para yose ya waNkhonde yapakuluta nayo Kambondoma. Kwene nkondo iyo yikaŵa yinandi chomene nkhenira, ya Kanyoli yikaŵa yichoko.

And when they reached Mwakatundu where Kanyoli looted the cattle they found it deserted for every one had fled when Kanyoli came.¹ So Kambondoma said, "Let us go on to Mwamakura; that is where they have fled to," and then the expedition crossed to the other side of the Kiwira River and also crossed the Mbasi, on the other side of which is Mwamakura's place at Mwaya, only to find that Mwamakura also was in flight from his villages and that the people had crowded together down in the Lake at the place where the Germans to-day have their Government Station.²

So then (the Henga) said, "What shall we do seeing all the people are crowding in the Lake?" and others said, "Look here; we'll stay here and set fire to this house of Mwamakura's and when they come here they will get us." Then they said, "Right; you have said a sound thing;" so then they put fire to the house and since it was of fully grown bamboos that the house had been built it made a noise as of the firing of guns, and the Mwamba when they saw the smoke from their chief's house they swarmed like bees shouting, "Who goes there?" And then out burst Mwangomo the Mwamba fighter, and battle was joined on the front of the Kwenda regiment (because Kwenda was the one that used to begin the fighting, Sikwaliwene remaining for the time seated; when Kwenda came off then Sikwaliwene used to begin).

And so they went at each other and soon a Henga was down and a Mwamba down, a Henga down and a Mwamba down and Mwangomo in his rage began to seize men with his bare hands and when a Henga said "I'll stab," that great fellow would catch him by his hands and pass him over to others behind him that they might kill. Then the Mamyu section looked round and said, "We'll have to submit, you people; the young ones are finishing." Then out rushed Chiwerewere, Kuzeja Chintuchawaka, and leaping through the air, stabbed Mwangomo and Mwangomo cried "Guwuguwu!" Then Bingo rushed forward and stabbed Mwangomo and Mwangomo cried "Guwuguwu!" Then Chokolavingoma rushed forward and stabbed and brought him down and the Mwamba force cleared off, crossing to the other side of the Mbaka river yonder, and now when (the Henga) said "Let us go after them!" they found another force coming up, with "Ho there! where are you going?"

¹This puts the two raids close to each other in point of time; Kanyoli's probably at the end of the dry season in 1880 and Kambondoma's about three or four months later in the rains of 1881.

²This, of course, was written long before the War and refers to the German Customs Station at Mwaya, the port for the Administrative centre of Neu Langenburg; now Tukuyu.

Ndipera para, ngayikuyakafika mwa Mwakatundu umu wakayola ng'ombe Kanyoli wasanga yi-i, wanthu wose walikuchimbira kale pene-papo wakizira Kanyoli. Para Kambondoma wali, "Tihambe kwa Mwamakura, ndiko wachimbirira," para ngayikwambuka Chiwira musilgha, ngayikwambukaso Mbasi musilgha umu ndimo mu Mwaya wa Mwamakura, para wasanga Mwamakura nayo wakachimbira mu mizi wayakazulana ku nyanja nganga kula kuli boma lero la waJeremani.

Ndipera para, wali, "Skono titi wuli apa wanthu wose wayakazulana ku nyanja?" wanyakhe wali, "Cha; tikhale penepano, toche nyumba ya Mwamakura iyi, para iwo wiza kuno waze katitola." Para wali, "Inya, mwaneneska." Para ngawakocha nyumba, napo vimisyombe vyakura vikuru ivi wakuzengera nyumba, para ngachikulira nga nchibamu, para waMwamba wati wakawone josi la nyumba ya fumu ya wo, waguza njuchi, wali, "Uwe ase?" ngakukuya kasotopoka Mwangomo uyo muMwamba wakawa mukali chomene, para ngawakwiza ngayikusumbirirana la masu gha Kwendeni (chifukwa Kwenda ndiko kukadanga nga kulwa, Sikwaliwene wakakhalanga nanga pasi; para yasuka ya Kwenda skono ndipo yiwambanga ya Sikwaliwene).

Ndipera para ngayikuwambana guwuwu, skonoskono muHenga wali pasi, na muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, chaMwangomo chakalipa chandakukola waka; skono para muHenga wakuti "nditi muskaza" icho ngachikukola waka chikupa wanyakhe wakomenge waka kumanyuma. Para Mamyu ghakuyakati maso ghali, "Wana wakumala, emwe titherenge waka." Para ngachikulotoka cha Chiwerewere, cha Kuzeja Chintuchawaka, ngachikuwuruka chamugwaza maskaza Mwangomo, Mwangomo wati, guwaguwa. Ngachikulotoka cha Bingo chamugwaza maskaza Mwangomo wati guwaguwa. Para ngachikulotoka cha Chokolavingoma nge ngamaskati chamugwaza maskaza chamuthera pasi yasuka ya Mwamba yambukira musilgha mwa Mbaka mula, skono wakuti "tiwalozghenge," wasanga yinyakhe yafika kwati, "u-u-u; ase mukutwaku wanya?" (ndiko kuti, "mukuyankhu)?"

Then the fight went on, a Henga down, a Mwamba down, a Henga down, a Mwamba down, a Henga down, and the Henga said, "My word ! this is a painful business," and drew off to the rear, the Kwenda regiment. Then when it had given up, (i.e. the "Kwenda" regiment) came the Sikwaliwene, Muharure's Njowo regiment, with their (war cry) "Njowo njowo njowo !" and out rushed Kambondoma with a spear thrust here, a spear thrust there, a spear thrust here, and stabbed and stabbed, completely doing for five and the Mwamba party moved off before him and then stood, saying, "Where do you people think you are going ?" They fell to again and a Mwamba is down, then a Henga, then a Mwamba, then a Henga, and the Henga force moved away and Kambondoma said,¹ "Where are you retreating to ?" and stabbed and stabbed and stabbed and stabbed till the Mwamba fell back.

Then cattle came in sight and some desired to catch them and the Mwamba faced round, saying, "Where do you think you are going ?" and the battle was joined ; a Mwamba fell and a Henga and a Mwamba and a Henga, and they said, "This is painful," the Henga, and cleared out. Is it not water where they go ? right in splashing, and, further, the water there is among grass stick-up out of it ; where it was thought, "there is not much water," the water was deep. And so came the end of the people.

Now Kambondoma remained alone, he fighting with the enemy by himself and the Mwamba were not quick to kill him thinking to capture him alive and give him the chief's daughter in marriage because he was a great fighter. Thus it was that the end came to them. And furthermore, he thought, "If I go back home they will kill me because I have finished the people's children and all my headmen are dead ; there is nothing for it but that I too die." And thus died Kambondoma, but nevertheless he might have returned home for there was no one to kill him, he being such an outstanding fighter. Kambondoma the Chief, Jojowawa Kajawa, Tondoli Bugundubugundu wa vimeto vya mu ntumbo wanzira kuyiwona ; second in command of the Henga ; he is dead in Mwamba country ; his grave is in Mwaya for the Mwamba buried him there.

Thus it was, Oh my friend, that when the army was finished in that way, those who escaped came one by one to Vuwa. Some the Nkonde killed on the way, others the water, but it was the end of the fighting regiments, for though some escaped they could be counted. And

¹Throughout the whole of this narrative the "chi" and "cha" prefixes take the place of the usual personal prefixes "mu" and "wa," for reasons of praise and glorification ; these representing size and importance as well as being the prefixes for inanimate objects.

Para ng'ombe zawoneka, wanyakhe wakukhumba na kuzitola, ndipera ngavikuyakang'anamuka viMwamba vati, "Ase mukutwaku wanya?" yasumbirirana, wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, wakuyakati, "Vyawingha," ngayikusuka ya waHenga. Kasi uko wakuya nkumaji, waye waka mu maji lipi-lipi, napo maji gha kula ghali na mautheka pachanya nkutenge pali-vye maji ghanandi, maji nghanandi. Ndipera para kwa wa kumara kwa wanthu.

Ndimu umu skono wamunyane, para yati yamara thaula yimbi, awa wakapokwapo wakizanga yumoyumo ku Vuwa. Wanjani wendangakakoma waNkhonde ; wanjani ghakakoma maji mu nthowa kwene kwaliwa yamalira nkhanira mawazga (? mawandhla) ghose nanga wapokwepo wa-

therefore the wailing was in every home and family in Vuwa and in Kondeland also, the whole countryside.

And so, we lay at home until it was the hot season and Kanyoli said,¹ "Let us go and settle in Kondeland" and then the old men said, "That is a sound idea; yes let us go." And they rested with the women, sleeping at Mlale, sleeping at Lupembe, and starting from Lupembe they slept at Chilindi where they found a hippopotamus; starting from there they rested at Mwakasungura and there had a great dance. When they left there they reached Mwafongo where had settled Mserema² with lines of temporary shelters. We found the Arabs there, the name of the head Arab being Chiparamoto.³

Then Mwafongo⁴ changed his mind⁵ and said, "Chiparamoto; kill that Kanyoli for me; I do not want Ngoni in my country." Chiparamoto said, "Is that so? we'll see about it." Then Mwafongo took ivory and gave it to Chiparamoto and Chiparamoto accepted saying, "You first of all try my plan; say 'the Ngoni are yonder'; and when they run off we will kill them." Mwafongo said, "Right."

And so Mwafongo gave the thing a start saying, "The Ngoni have come to Mpata," and Kanyoli said, "Hear the news! come on and let us have a look at the Ngoni"; and then they put on their most fierce head-dresses and ran to Mpata to find not a sign of an Ngoni. Then the party returned saying, "What Ngoni?" and the Nkonde said, "There aren't any," and Kanyoli said, "It doesn't matter." And Chiparamoto came by night to Kanyoli and said, "Kanyoli, the Nkonde say they will kill you; they want me and I have refused because we are both strangers here." Then Kanyoli said, "Is that so; it does not matter; leave them alone; what are they to worry about?"

¹It seems incredible that the Henga should seek to settle among the Nkonde to whom Kambondoma's expedition had brought such loss but it has to be remembered that the whole of the Konde area was originally in the hands of the Chikuramayembe, and the Henga were his people. Further, since the arrival of the Ngoni, everything was in a state of unsettlement and the strong hand took what it liked. The date of this move is either 1881 or 1882.

²One of the three Arab leaders who a few years later were to involve the whole country in the North End War.

³All the Arabs took, or were given, names in the local vernaculars; as, for instance, Tibu-tibu (Tippoo -tib), Rumaliza, and this man; all the names implying devastation of some sort or another.

⁴All the names mentioned in this story except those of Arabs, are those of chiefs whose names and districts remain to-day as when these events took place; some being still alive and others now represented, under the hereditary title, by their heirs.

⁵Really "stopped again"; i.e. gave up his original friendliness.

kaŵa ŵakupenda. Ndipera skono vitengero vyaŵa vyambura kulizgana mu Vuwa na mu uNkhonde wuwo, charo chose.

Ndipera para, tagonatagona kukuti kuŵenge na chihanya para Kanyoli wali, "Tilutenge tikazenge ku uNkhonde," para ŵalala ŵose wali, "Inya, waneneska, tilutenge," para ngayikupumula pamoza na ŵanakazi wuwo yagona pa Mlale, yagona pa Lupembe, yawuka pa Lupembe yagona pa Chilindi para ŵasora chigwere; yawuka para ngayikugona mwa Mwakasungu (? Mwakasungura) para yagiya-yagiya. Yati yawuka para, ngayikufika pa Mwafongo para wakazenga Mserema para; para yiti waka misasa nde . . nde. Kweni ŵaRungwana tikaŵasanga papara, zina la muRungwana Chiparamoto.

Para Mwafongo ŵarekangaso, wali, "Iwe Chiparamoto, undikomere Kanyoli uyo; kuti nkukhumba ŵaNgoni muno mu charo chane chara." Chiparamoto wali, "Kwali; titiwone makola." Para Mwafongo watola zovu wamupa Chiparamoto. Ngawakupoka, Chiparamoto wali, "Iwe, uniyeze nanga; uti "Zowa para," vyachimbira ndipo tivikome?" Mwafongo wali, "Eya."

Ndipera para, ngawakwamba Mwafongo wali, "Zowa ku Mpata wafika," para Kanyoli wali, "Uyezwa na; hayidwowe timuwone muNgoni," para ngayikuvwara uheneuhene zinjukura, ngayikuchimbirira kuko ku Mpata ŵasanga Zowa yi . . i kulivyeye. Para ngayikuwera yimbi, ŵali, "Zowa nju?" ŵaNkhonde ŵali, "Nayumo"; Kanyoli wali, "Palive kanthu." Para Chiparamoto ngawakwiza na usiku kwa Kanyoli, wali, "Kanyoli, ŵaNkhonde aŵa wakuti tikome iwe, ŵakukhumba ine ndipo ine ndakana chifukwa ise tiri ŵalendo pera. Kanyoli wali, "Kwali; palive kanthu; ŵaleka! mbachi?"

But all the fights in which the Henga killed people in Nkondeland it was the Konde who enlisted them ; at the Nkana fight it was Mwafongo who mobilised and of course people died at Nkana, and so when we went to Kapolo to settle, the war party went out and killed Mwayiwiska and looted a lot of cattle, the raid being Mwasewa's, the Mwamba man, Mwayiwiska himself being a Mwamba. And in the matter of the raids that trod down the people in the Luangwa Valley towards the source, that also was Mwasewa's mobilising because of his own territory, and in the matter of the Misuku raiding it was Kanjere who raised that force, suddenly appearing down from the Misuku Hills with, "Go and kill some people for me, Kanyoli." That was the Misuku fighting, not a raid of the Henga on their own.

In this way we spent three years at Kaporo and in the fourth year Kanyoli died at Mwaya⁵ (the European being at Karonga there, the African Lakes man). For it fell out in the fourth year at the end of the rains Mwasewa said, "Come with me and keep me company in killing in the Mwamba country;" and Kanyoli said, "Certainly ; let us go." Then said Chisovya⁶ "Look here, Kanyoli ; there is water there just now" and he went on to say, "They want friendship and to live in friendly pleasantness now." The reason being that Chisovya had sent Yasweka to go to Mwakatundu and be friendly, and now they were anxious for friendly relations with Chisovya and the friendly state of things was exceedingly pleasant. Yasweka went three times on friendly visit to Mwakatundu taking cloth from Chisovya. That was how Chisovya opposed saying, "What is the use of war?" when Kanyoli said, "I am going out with a war-party." Then Kanyoli went off with a war-party (because the people as a whole obeyed Kanyoli) and on the way met a steady rain all the night through, soaking the shields and making them flabby ; then crossing Songwe in the dark they met on the other side some women belonging to Mwasewa's people who had been visiting friends. Then they laid hold of them, saying, "Where have you come from?" and they said, "We have come from our home and came (here) yesterday ; we are from Mwasewa's." "Is that so," and then they let them loose and said, "Away you go." And so then the party reached Mwakatundu's in the early morning and the fighting began. Then a Henga fell, and a Mwamba, then a Henga, a Mwamba, a Henga, and the Henga said, "This is a bad business," and cleared out. Then it was that

⁵Probably 1885.

⁶Chisovya was constantly inclined to peace and was one of three leading Henga to send in to the Agent of the African Lakes Corporation a gift of sheep, though the bulk of his people desired to wipe out the white men, on their arrival in 1882.

Kweni nkondo zose izo waHenga wakomanga wantu, ku Nkhonde wakumbanga waNkhonde, weka cha; ya ku Nkana wakakumba ndi Mwafongo ndiyo wakakumba nanga yakafwa wantu ku Nkana ndipera para tati taluta pa Kapolo kuyakazenga, ngayikupuma nkondo iyi yikakomanga Mwayiwiska yikayola na ng'ombe wuwo zinandi chomene, nayo yika wa ya Mwasewa muMwamba, apera Mwayiwiska naye wakawa muMwamba. Ndipo ndaziwe nkondo jyo yikaphwatanga wantu ku Lwangwa kunena, nayo nja Mwasewa wakakumbanga chifukwa cha charo chake, ndipo nga yiwe ya muMisuku ndiyo wakumbanga Kanjere, nayo wayasonthomoka ku Misuku wali, "Kanyoli kandikomere wantu." Ndiyo nkondo ya ku Misuku, ya ta waHenga teka cha.

Tikuchita nteura ku Kaporo, tagonapo myaka yitatu, wachinai ndiwo wakafwira Kanyoli ku Mwamba (wakuchita nteura Muzungu wali pa Karonga para, wina Mandala a wa). Ndipera para mukuti muwenge mu mwaka wachinai na chifuku para Mwasewa wali, "kandilindani tika-komanenge ku Mwamba," para Kanyoli wali, "Inya, tilutenge," para waChisovya wali, "Wonani Kanyoli, skono kuli maji," nakwenenako wali, "Skono wubwezi wakuwukhumba tisowerenge na wo skono." Chifukwa chakuti waChisovya wakatumia waYasweka ndiyo wakaya kwa Mwakatundu kuyakasowera nayo na skono wakakhumbanga ubwezi na Chisovya, kwene ubwezi ukanuna chomene nkhanira. WaYasweka wakayako katatu kusowera nayo Mwakatundu kumupa nguwo izi zikafumanga ku Chisovya. Ndimu waChisovya wakakaniranga kuti "Nkhondo njachi," para Kanyoli wali, "Ine nkuluta na nkondo." Para Kanyoli ngawakuluta nayo nkondo (chifukwa wantu wose wakapulikiranga Kanyoli) watenge pa ntowa vura teu yapumutha usiku wose, vihlangu dyampanthu, para ngawakwambuka muronga Songwe na usiku pera watenge musilgha wakukumana na wanakazi wa kwa Mwasewa wenderananga na wanya wo. Para ngawakuwakola, wali, "Mwafumanku?" wali, "Tafuma mu kaya tikiza mayiro, tikufuma kwa Mwasewa." Wali, "Kwali." Para ngawakuwareka wali, "Lutaninge." Ndipera para, ngayikufika mu kaya mwa Mwakatundu namacherochero, ngayikusumbirirana. Skonoskono muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, waHenga wakuti "Vyawingha," ngayikusuka mbii. Skono ndipo wakafwiranga

Kanyoli died ; first and foremost leader ; Kananyau Bichi Qondama Kanamanga ! And so they went carrying off cattle by the way, Musilwa saying, " We will kill and eat death-meat ;"¹ those who managed to run off on their own, came (home) one by one, many died ; and the death wail was heard in every family.²

Thereafter while we were at rest, as it were in the hot season, the Arabs came to hostilities with the Konde and killed Kasoti a Konde chief, and the Konde met together and said, " We will fight them " ; then the Europeans said, " You Konde ! stop ! don't fight with the Arabs." Then the Konde gave it up. The one who killed Kasoti was the Arab Milambo.³

We at this time were lying low at Kaporo and when we had stayed so for a short time we found that the Arabs had killed Mwenitete upstream from Mlozi. Then war broke out between the Nkonde and the Arabs (we lying low) and the Arabs were all entangled and mixed up with the Nkonde and the whole of the Nkonde area was trampled upon, only the Europeans were unmoved and the Nkonde made to run off to our place at Kaporo, others hiding in the thicker bush-country. And so it was that there came the Europeans—there were Mr. Monteith-Fotheringham, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Nicoll (others there were whom I do not know ; they were six)—to Kaporo to take the Nkonde and go with them to Karonga. Then when they had gone with them to the fortified station the Europeans said, " Why are you killing the Nkonde, the owners of the land ? " and the Arabs said, " Is that so ; are you asking us ? " They came to the European's fortified place and the fight waged hot, the salvation of the Europeans being that they sent Mr. Nicoll that he might do homage to those Mwamba people, in that way they escaped ; since the fighting went on for a long time and many Arabs died, then the Mwamba came and the Arabs retreated to their stockades.

Then the Europeans said, " Let us now go to the Mwamba country with our Mwamba friends " (it was the Mwamba who were their allies at that time) and the Europeans went off to Mwamba passing Kaporo, where we were, on the way. When they got into Mwamba territory at Isese, then it was there that they built.

¹" Kuruma ndumo " ; an Ngoni phrase referring to the cattle killed for a mourning.

²Lit., " without communal mourning " ; each family being engaged in mourning its own dead and unable to take part in the mourning of other families.

³Understood to be the same Milambo whose name occurs so frequently in Livingstone's Last Journals as the principal disturber of the peace between Tanganyika and Nyasa.

Kanyoli apo, Kaputeni wachimoza, Kananyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga. Ndipera para ngayikwendakatorerezga zing'ombe zga Mwasewa, Musilwa wali, "Tikakomenge, tikarumenge ndumo"; aŵa ŵakachimbiriranga paŵeka ŵakwiza yumoyumo, ŵanandi ŵakafwa; chitengero chaŵa chambura kulizgana.

Ndipera para tikugona paŵenge na chihanya ŵaRungwana ngaŵa-kwambanana ŵaNkhonde, ŵakoma Kasoti fumu ya ŵaNkhonde, para ŵaNkhonde ŵawunjikana ŵali, "Tikakomane naŵo," para ŵaZungu wali, "Imwe mwa ŵaNkhonde rekani; kuti mungakomana naŵo ŵaRungwana chara." Para ŵaNkhonde ŵareka. Uyo wakakoma Kasoti ndi Milambo Mwalabo.

Ise skono tiri chete pa Kapolo, tikhalengepo pachoko waka tasanga ŵaRungwana ŵakoma Mwenitete, kunena kwa Mulozi. Para yayaŵa nkhondo na ŵaNkhonde na ŵaRungwana (ise tiri chete), para ŵaRungwana ŵavundukana naŵo ŵaNkhonde, mu uNkhonde mose mula thibu, ŵakhala ŵaZungu pera para, ŵaNkhonde ŵara ŵakapa kuchimbirira ku kwitu ku Kapolo, ŵanji ŵajowa mu matundu. Ndipera para ŵaZungu ngaŵakwiza wakaŵapo Bwana Monteith na Bwana Sharpe na Bwana Mikolo—kwene ŵanyakhe nkuŵamanya makola chara, ŵakaŵa sanu na yumoza—pakwiza kaŵatola ŵaNkhonde pa Kapolo ŵakayanga naŵo kwa Karonga. Para ŵati ŵaluta naŵo pa Boma ŵaNkhonde, ŵaZungu ŵali, "Kasi mukuŵakomerachi ŵaNkhonde ŵenecharo?" ŵaRungwana ŵali, "Kwali; kutifumba." Ngaŵakwiza pa Boma la ŵaZungu yasumbirirana, mphonokwa ya ŵaZungu njakuti ŵatume Bwana Mikolo wakatire ŵaMwamba kura, reka ŵakaphokwa; para yakomana mazuwa ghanandi chomene, ŵafwa chomene ŵaRungwana, para ngaŵakwiza ŵaMwamba ŵaRungwana ngaŵakuchimbira kuya mu mali-ghaŵo

Para ŵaZungu wali, "Sono tirutenge ku uMwamba pamoze na ŵanyitu ŵaMwamba" (apera ndiŵo ŵakaŵa ŵanyaŵo pa nyengo iyo), para ŵaZungu ngaŵakuruta ku uMwamba ŵakendakapita pa Kapolo apa tiri ise. Para ŵayakafika pa uMwamba pa Isese, para ndipo ŵakazenga.

And so then they stayed for a considerable time there with their Nkonde people also and the Europeans said, "When we go with war to Mlozi unless we remove these Henga from the path there, should we retreat from Mlozi will these not kill us? But let us first kill the Henga and then go on to Mlozi, because the Henga are on the route." That is the cause of our death, that about being on the route, although actually it was the Nkonde who showed us the Kaporo site that we might shut out the Mwamba, since they were constantly coming to kill them (the Nkonde) there in the Ngerenge area. When we settled at Kaporo, the Mwamba were much afraid and did not keep on coming.

So thus it was yonder when the Europeans came along with their Mwamba and Nkonde; being just upon dawn they were already upon us and we found the guns gathered round outside the stockade. When we thought of clearing out we found ourselves at grips, breast to breast, with the Mwamba and Nkonde, and we said, "Alas; now we die without a cause." Then the Mwamba said, "Capture the families!" and what conceivable chance had we. That is the fight that killed Chisovya and very many died. Then some ran off, saying, "Now we will go over to Mlozi," and that is how the Henga went to the Arabs. Then when we found some who had been captured coming back one by one, saying, "The European has sent us back; he it was who plucked us from the Mwamba saying, 'get away home,'" we said, "Is that so? are the Europeans then kind-hearted?"

As for those Mwamba fellows who went away with them, it is they who are not located to-day. Some certainly there are who followed their own line by themselves and came to the Mpata neighbourhood.

So then, when the rains were on and rain falling, the forces of the Europeans along with the Mwamba came to Mlozi's stockade. When the fighting came to close grips the Mwamba got into the stockade and the Arabs barricaded themselves in their houses and kept up a heavy gunfire; what could be done! great slaughter among the Mwamba and corpses all over the place. Then the Europeans retired,¹ (we were hanging about outside; we did not go into their stockades).² The

¹ The story, from the European side, is told by Monteith Fotheringham, Lugard, Johnstone and Moir who have all written on this period.

² This apparently applies to Henga levies with the European force of whom the writer seems to have been one; not to those Henga who joined the Arabs after the Kaporo fight. Many of these latter were captured at the final conquest of the stockades and, as their punishment, were sent with the Arab captured cattle to Zomba, a distance of some 500 miles.

Ndipera para wâgonawâgona mazuwa ghanandi pachokowaka na wâNkhonde wâwo wuwo kwenekuko, para wâZungu wali, "Ise para tikuya kwa Mulozi na nkondo wambura kuti tafumyapo wâHenga aâwa pa ntowa apa, para tikuchimbira kwa Mulozi ha wendemukoma ise. Kwene tidange takoma wâHenga aâwa ndipo tirutenge kwa Mulozi, chifu-kwa wâHenga wâli pa ntowa." Ndigho tikafwiranga ise, gha pa ntowa agho, lwegha pa Kapolo para wâkatilongolapo mbaNkhonde mwakuti tiwâjalire wâMwamba chifukwa wakizanga kawirikawiri kwizakawakoma mu Ngerenge mula. Tati tazenga ise pa Kapolo, wâMwamba wakopa-nga chomene kuti wakizangako chara.

Ndimu mula para wâZungu ngawakwiza pamoza na wâMwamba na wâNkhonde; kukuti kutenge ngwe . . wâtiwira kale, tasanga vibamu vikukolongana gha kuwaro ku linga. Para tikuti tikawukiremo tasanga wâMwamba na wâNkhonde tapakatana kale, nase, "Hawa; tatafwa waka lero." Para wâMwamba wati, "Yolani mbumba," namwe na kantini kose. Ndiyo nkondo yikakomanga wâChisovya iyo, na wântu wânandi wakafwa. Para wânji ngawakuchimbirapo, wâli, "Sono tiyenge waka kwa Mulozi," ndimo wâHenga wakayiranga ku wâRungwana. Para tasanga wânji aâwa wakayolanga wakuwera yumoyumo, wâli, "Ise wâtiwe-zga muZungu, ndiyo watikwapulanga ku wâMwamba wali, "Weraninge." Nase, "Kwali; kasi wâZungu wâli na lusungu?"

Ndipo aâwa viMwamba vikapitanga naâwo kutali ndiâwo walikuzgewa na sono wambura kuwoneka. Wânji ndiâwo wakapazanga weka wakafika-nga ku Mpata.

Ndipo mula para, kwati kukuâwa mula, vura yarokwapo, nkondo ngayikwiza ya wâZungu na wâMwamba wuwo pa linga la ku Mulozi. Para yamenyuranamenyurana, wâMwamba ngawakunjira mu linga, vi-Rungwana ngavikujijarila mu zinyumba, vyati lipikani vibamu; namwe, na kantini kose; wâMwamba nkufwa nkuleka, vitanda kwati kusukusu. Para wâZungu ngawakuchimbira (ise sono ndipo tikuyulayula muwaro; kuti tikanjira mu malinga waâwo chara). Ndimu mula para, wâZungu

Europeans then went off to the Mwamba country and came back from there and settled again at Karonga at the Lake where they are to-day.

Then it was that they enlisted many fighting groups, both the Mwamba and the Tonga and the Henga and some of the Kamanga too. Thus it was that war took place, fighting going on for two years, and it was the Europeans who were constantly going out with war against the Arabs; the Europeans brought with them cannon also though they did not do much good and by this time we were already in the Arab stockades.¹

And so when the Governor came² the Europeans said, "Let us make terms and be friendly now," and the Arabs made as if to agree, saying, "Quite so; let us be friendly; that is a good idea of yours." Furthermore, we people were absolutely in rags and naked and when they so acted the Arab's cloth was also finished and some of them were wearing bark-cloth; where could they expect to get cloth? seeing that the Europeans had closed the (cross-lake) ferry-places; from which you may know the cuteness that the Europeans have.

When they came to make terms, the Europeans went up and the Arabs came down, meeting on the path, and the Arabs killed a cow and the Europeans also brought a cow. So it was then, after resting a few days the Europeans said, "Come here, Arabs" and the Arabs started to go along with their Henga; when (the party) arrived at the European's Fort the Tonga and Henga who had come away from the Arabs began a dance all together; the Mwamba also and the Arabs from Mpata in their own group along with their subjugated people;³ (because the Henga and Tonga had been together long ago in Ngoniland, that is why I say "nawo wafo pera," did the Rugaruga and the Mambwe know how to "guba" and "giya"⁴; not a bit!) And so there the subjugated peoples capered about in their own group and the Henga and Tonga capered about with the "mugubu," saying,

"I ho ho; ha ho ho; the regiments of home!

I siwalekasonge; the regiments of home!"

(you repeat and repeat the song at this point).

¹The Henga had decided that the Arab was most likely to win after the fighting just described and joined forces with them then.

²The arrival of Mr. (later Sir Harry) Johnston with the emissary of the Sultan of Zanzibar in an effort to settle the matter without further fighting. The date was November, 1889.

³"Wafo"; an Ngoni word for the races incorporated by them; not "slaves."

⁴Two Ngoni words; dances.

ŵati ŵaruta ku uMwamba, ngaŵakuyakawera kura ŵizakazengaso pa Karonga pa nyanja apa ŵali sono.

Para sono ŵakumba zinkondo zinandi chomene, naŵo ŵaMwamba, ŵaTonga ŵaHenga, ŵanji ŵaKamanga papa naŵo. Ndimo umo para, yaŵa nkondo yakomana-yakomana virimika viwiri, sono ŵaZungu ndiŵo ŵakarutanga nayo nkondo ku ŵaRungwana kawirikawiri ; ŵaZungu ŵatorerapo na mizinga wuwo yapa kutondeka ; sono ndipo nase tanjira kale mu malinga gha ŵaRungwana.

Ndipera para, ŵaZungu, ŵalikwiza Bwana Mkubwa, wakuti, “ Ti-sayane, tisowerenge lero ” ; para ŵaRungwana ŵakapa kuzomera ŵali, “ Aso, tisewerenge, mwanozga.” Nakwenenako ta ŵantu takenda viwi nkule, ŵakuchita ntaula ŵaRungwana nguwo zgamaraso ŵanji ŵakavwarangapo mitawoso ; ka ŵakatenge ŵazitorenku nguwo ? rwande viZungu vyajalira madowoko, napo mumanyenge kuchenjera uko kuli na ŵaZungu.

Para yikapa kusayana ŵaZungu ŵakwera ŵaRungwana ŵikha yakumana pa ntowa wakoma ng’ombe ŵagawana ; ng’ombe nayo ŵakayegha ŵaZungu. Ndipera para, ŵagonapo mazua ghachoko waka, ŵaZungu wali, “ Zaningi kuno, ŵaRungwana ” ; para ŵaRungwana ŵakapa kuruta na ŵaHenga wuwo, para yati yafika pa Boma pa ŵaZungu, ŵaTonga na ŵaHenga aŵa ŵafuma ku ŵaRungwana yati mugiyi lwi pamoza ; ŵaMwamba naŵo na ŵaRungwana ŵa ku Mpata ŵati sendemule mba pamoza naŵo ŵafo pera ; (chifukwa ŵaHenga na ŵaTonga ŵakawā pamoza mu uNgoni kale, leka niti apo ŵali naŵo ŵafo pera, ka naŵo ŵalugaluga na ŵaMambwe ŵalukumanya kuguba na kugiya ? ; apa chara). Ndipera para ŵafo naŵo ŵakuburirana waka, sendemule waŵo, naŵo ŵaHenga na ŵaTonga naŵo ŵakuburirana na mugubo, kuli :—

“ I ho ho ; ha ho hò ; mawandhla gha kiti ;
I siwalekasonge ; mawandhla gha kiti.”
(sono muwerezgenge pene papa lusumu ulu).

That is how it was in the rejoicing that fighting was over ; because it had altogether finished us Henga. If we people are forlorn in this way, our old people disappeared in that fighting, we your friends.

So then, rejoicing in that way, the Arabs went back and the Henga and there was now friendliness.

That is how that fighting befell us, my friend. And as for the present fighting¹ the Henga altogether refused, the Europeans saying, " Come here now ; come out of there." And so doing, some had already come out and had changed over with work for the European and were untroubled.²

So then there passed five years, this is the fighting I refer to, the year 1895, and it was that which brought things to an end and all the old men wiped out.³

So now we know well that the Europeans came with kind intent to this land of ours ; consider the matter ! the land has rest ; long ago could a person move about, returning from a raid would he reach home ? never ! impossible ; one could not live unless under protection, but nowadays the one who steals from a man is sure to be detected ; but before the Ngoni came while our chiefs were still (over) the land here, Chungu, Chikuramayembe, Kanyenda and his father Karonga, we do not hear that people fought together at random. There were the poison ordeals and small village quarrels ; in the morning they would be friendly in the very place where they had wounded each other, there was no carrying the matter on.

And so to-day peace has come with the Europeans in the land, let us pay tax we people, what of it ? our friends have put us into peace. And note this ; our chief Chikuramayembe has gone up into the chieftainship of the whole country ; reaching to the Dwangwa by Kanyenda on that side and on this side to Chiwondo, the boundary with the Chungu. Furthermore, it is he who will now sort out and arrange all the headmen whom he once installed in Tongaland and the whole country because the Europeans too desire a paramount chief and do not see him. This one says, " I am a chief, too " ; but where did you ever see a lot of real chiefs for the one country ?

Salute ! We thank you Europeans greatly ; you have settled us well, and we also have the words of God ; in the old days we wandered far astray. I have now finished.

¹ Referring to the capture of the stockades in 1895.

² The Henga refugees were the first, as they still are the most ready, to enter into employment in the North Nyasa District.

³ An exaggeration ; many remain who were already senior men at the time here described and are now well over 80 years of age.

Uku ndiko kukaŵa kusekera chifukwa nkondo yamara ; chifukwa ise ta ŵaHenga yikatimara chomene nkanira. Nanga ta ŵantu tikhale ulanda ntaula, ŵadada ŵose ŵalikumara nkondo yeneyiyo, ta ŵanyinu :

Ndipera para, yati yasekera ntaula, ngaŵakuwera ŵaRungwana na ŵaHenga, sono kwaŵa kusowera.

Ndiyo nkondo iyo umo yikaŵira, ŵamunyane. Ndipo ngaiwenge ndi nkondo ya sono iyi, ndiyo ŵaHenga ŵakakananga waka ŵaZungu ŵakatenge “Zaninge kuno lero, uko fumaninge” ; ŵakuchita ntaula ŵanji ndipo ŵafumako kale, ŵakung'anamuka na nchito ku waZungu, ŵalikudeka.

Para sono yati yarutapo miyaka yisanu, ha ndiyo iyo nkunena, myaka ya mu 1895, sono ndiyo yirikumarizizga nkanira iyo, ŵarara ŵose ngwe.

Ndipo sono tikumanya makora kuti ŵaZungu ŵakizira lusungu ku charo chitu chino ; ha, wonani, he ; charo chagona sono ; kasi kale muntu yeka wangenda, kufuma ku nkondo kwizakafika ? pauli. Uyo sono nthawalowa cha tiwamanyikwenge na uyu wamwiba ; apa yayi, kwene kale, para ŵandize ŵaNgoni, muno mu charo zichali fumu zitu, Chungu, Chikuramayembe, Kanyenda na wise Karonga, kuti tikupulika kuti ŵantu ŵakakomana bweka chara. Kwene myavi ndiyo, na tunkondo twa mu kaya pera, namachero ŵakusowera para ŵakarasana, kurutira cha.

Ndipo kwene lero mutendere wiza na ŵaZungu mu charo, lekani tisonkenge sonko ta ŵantu, palive kantu, ŵanyitu ŵat'wika mu mtendere. Ahene sono fumu yitu Chikuramayembe wakwera fumu ya charo chose ; kufika ku Dwangwa na Kanyenda mpaka kura Chiwondo mpaka na Chungu.” Nakwenenako sono ndiye tiwarutupulenge fumu zgose izi wakakolanga kale mu uTonga na charo chose chifukwa ŵaZungu naŵo ŵakupenja fumu yikuru ndipo kuti ŵakuyiwona chara. Uyu nayo wakuti ine nane ndiri fumu ; imwe mukawonanku fumu zikuŵa zgenezinandi, charo chimoza pera ?

Yeŵo ; tawonga chomene mwa ŵaZungu ; mwatikhalika makora, na mazgu gha Chiuta wuwo tiri nawo sono, kale tikazgewa chomene.

Ndamara sono.

NOTE ON THE "TOTEMISM" OF THE VANDAU

BY E. DORA EARTHY

The VaNdau tribe is composed of a certain number of totemistic, exogamous sibs, the descent being patrilineal.

I have often been puzzled by the fact that some members of the Nkomu sib, which has the domestic cow as a *mtupo*, take milk, while others of the same sib refuse to do so. An explanation is now forthcoming. A correspondent in Rhodesia writes to me that his daughter, Miss Patricia Myers, has discovered, while talking to Native servants, that there is a "high" and a "low" degree of so-called "totemism."

Mr. Myers sends me this account of a talk which he had with some Native women of the Nkomu sib about a cow which had been killed on his farm.

"Do you eat this beef?" Mr. Myers asked.

"Yes."

"Do you drink the milk of a domestic cow?"

"Yes."

"What portion of a beast (Nkomu) do you not eat?"

"The heart and the lungs."

"Do you never eat the heart?"

"Never."

"Do you never eat the lungs?"

"Yes, when the lungs have been doctored."

"Would you not eat the heart doctored?"

"No."

"Why?"

"Because it is our *mtupo*."

"Is not the whole of the beast your *mtupo*?"

"Yes."

"Why do you eat any of it?"

"We do not know."

"If you were to eat the heart, what would happen?"

"We would not try."

" But if you did ? "

" Our teeth would drop out."

" Would you carry the heart away with you if I gave it you ? "

" Yes, and we would give it to some other person."

" Do you doctor this meat (leg shown) before eating it ? "

" No."

As the people of the *Nkomu* sib in Gazaland strongly tabu the blood also, and most of them the milk, of a cow, it is to be inferred that they belong chiefly to the " high " degree of the *mtupo Nkomu*.

Mr. Myers sends a photograph of a girl whose mother is a " high " *Mhlangu* (Zebra totem). The father of the girl is a " low " *Mhlangu*. The girl is therefore " low." The mother is a blood relation of the chief. This looks as if endogamy were sometimes permitted within the the sib as long as the sib branches are exogamous.

Mr. Myers also tells me that when he asked a grown-up daughter of the local chief (whose " totem " is the zebra), just what portion of the zebra was tabu to her, she said " all of it," and volunteered the information that some of her family had become violently ill because they had once looked upon a zebra skin. " It made me feel as if we had no backbone," she said. Questioned as to why others of the Zebra sib, who were known to Mr. Myers, ate portions of the animal, she give could no answer. But the fact could probably be accounted for by the " high " and " low " degrees of " totemism."

À propos of the fact that the sight of the " totem " is enough to make some people ill, an interesting confirmation of its disturbing influence was given me by an Englishwoman a short time ago. On one side of her family, this lady claims descent from some old Slavonic moon-worshippers of Central Europe. She told me that once recently, when looking at the new moon, she had felt a distinct slap in the face. This seems a curious physiological fact.

With regard to tree " totems " of the VaNdau, Mr. Myers writes that the VaTonga of S. Rhodesia, who intermarry with the VaNdau, but have retained their own language and customs, although speaking Chindau as well, have sib tree " totems." The baobab (cream of tartar tree) is one of their " totems." They do not touch it. One informant told Mr. Myers that the baobab was the tribal " totem " of the VaTonga, but Kambu Simangu, an educated Mundau, said that the VaTongu have not a tree tribal " totem," but that the sibs have tree " totems," one of which is the baobab.

ORIGIN OF VAHDAU SIBS

The VaNdau of Gazaland are constant in their statement that the *Nkomu* and *Sitoyi* sibs are "all one people." A Mundau of the *Sitoyi* sib gave me the following naive account of the origin of the *Ngibi* sib.

"Nyamusika bore two children, a man and a woman. Their name was *Sitoyi*. They in their turn had two children, a man and a woman. These one day needed water badly, and they could not wait for the rain, and so they meditated what they could do. They went to the place of sacrifice, they prayed. While they were praying, a lake (*ngibi*) appeared. So they said :—'We are no longer *Sitoyi*, we are *Ngibi*.' Now at the place of sacrifice two lions lived, a male and female. The lions said :—'We want mealies before you eat them yourselves. We shall roar if you do not give us food.' The people agreed, and clapped their hands. Then the lions called all the other animals, and killed some. So the people said :—'Mbondoro, *ndiwe*, uMambo.' 'Lion! you are the Chief'! So the lions went away, and the people ate some of the game."

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE !KAŨ BUSHMEN.*

By TIELMAN ROOS.

In June 1929 it was my good fortune to be present at the funeral of a man belonging to a small family group of the *!ai churi chi kou* clan. I was therefore able to witness the methods adopted by the Bushmen for the disposal of the body and was an interested spectator at the final ceremony.

On my way down from Numkaub, the most northerly spot visited on my research expedition to the *!khû* Bushmen, I halted at the waterhole Karakuwesa for a few days before returning to Grootfontein. It was here that word was brought me that a young Bushman lad of the *!ai churi chi kou* group was very ill and not expected to live. I therefore decided to spend the night at this little werf tucked away on the slopes of the bush-covered sand dune $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the waterhole. My *Hei//om* Bushman interpreter however would not hear of this, for, he said, this family group was a dangerous one; these people had not seen a White man before, and what was more, they hated the *Hei//om*, and he therefore had no intentions of being harmed during the night. I did not press the matter further.

I was fully determined to set out very early next morning, but here again my interpreter had difficulties. He would not go unless another *!ai kou* man led the way. Soon after sunrise we were on our way following a narrow winding path through the bush to the village. Still some considerable distance from the werf I heard the wailing and shrieking of women. This immediately stopped when they sighted my party, and the women and children edged away, preparing no doubt for flight. The leader, however, informed them that all was well and that the White man was bringing them presents of tobacco, salt and beads. I took up a position some distance from the werf, at a spot where I could view everything clearly.

This werf consisted of six shelters, as they could not be called huts by any stretch of imagination. Each consisted of a few branches torn from some trees close by and stuck into the sand giving no shelter or privacy whatsoever. In front of each shelter the fires were still burning. The bereaved mother, covered with ash, was sitting on the pile of ashes alongside the fire immediately in front of her shelter. Seated in a semi-

*The information upon which this note is based was obtained during the course of a field-work trip financed by the University of the Witwatersrand.

circle facing the mother were the women and children. A few men were listlessly walking about the werf.

The round hole had already been dug to a depth of 5 feet, about 3 yards from a large tree growing in the centre of the werf. The grave is always round, and is dug immediately in front of the shelter of the dead person. In this case it was a few yards away from the centre tree, because the meagre shelter afforded by the branches of the tree is the abode of the bachelors and widowers of the family group. The body was lying under the tree. The knees had been forced up to the chest and tied with Bushman rope; the left arm was bent across the chest while the head rested on the palm of the right hand. The laying out of the body and the preparation of the grave are the work of the oldest man in the werf. On this occasion all this had been done by the *me!um*, i.e., the brother-in-law of the dead boy's father.

The men now lifted the body and passed it down to the *me!um*. Immediately the women started weeping and the mother throwing more ash over her body. Occasionally the men moaned aloud.

The body was placed on the right side facing north. Why this position is customary they do not know. The boy was buried with all his clothes, for everything a Bushman possesses is always buried with him, or at least some of his possessions are placed on the top of the grave. The body was then covered with the softened skin of a large antelope and the ground pushed into the hole by the adult men.

Thorn branches from nearby trees were broken off and thrown on the grave to keep off hyenas. The boy's sandals, and his shoulder-bag containing his personal belongings such as sinews, bits of wire, and his knife were placed at the foot of the grave. Here also were placed his wooden vessel containing crushed *omungete* nuts and a tin half-filled with water. These were the remains of food and water used during illness. A wild orange shell which was filled with *//na* (powder) was broken and the contents strewn over the grave.

Two long poles were then cut and one pushed into the sand to show the position of the head. On this were hung the dead boy's bow and quiver. The other pole was pushed in to show the position of the tucked-up knees. Almost between these two poles the smouldering logs of the bachelors' fire were placed. The manner in which the burial furniture, i.e. the position of the body, the two poles stuck in the sand, the bow and quiver, and the fire are disposed, is almost the same as the manner of arrangement of the shelter of the man during his life-time.

This seems to indicate that the dead man is supposed to be asleep and his instruments must be close at hand as they are during life.

I then approached the grave and obtained permission to examine the contents of the quiver. True, all the arrow-heads, both bone and iron, had been removed and given to the eldest brother of the dead boy, except three. These I was told, were to be used as a protection against the evil-spirit *!an wa*, if he intended to harm the three living brothers in any way.

The men then took their weapons from the supports of the shelters and set out northwards to choose another site two miles away from the old one. They were followed by the wailing women. The last to leave were the parents of the boy.

This then is the practice followed by all the different family groups constituting the *!khū* Bushman clan. It only applies, however, to the encampments of the temporary or winter type, with this difference that when a young child dies the inhabitants of the werf do not move off. The child is buried at the back of the shelter, which is then removed and put up again a few yards away.

In encampments or werfs where the huts are substantially built giving adequate protection, shelter and privacy to the inmates, the dead are carried by two old men, and buried in the same manner as just described, a mile or two in the bush. The inmates of the werf do not move away. The hut in which a man dies is removed a few yards away by the widow. She may be inherited by her dead husband's younger brother, or she returns to her people. If she is old, she remains and joins the group of the old women or widows. If the wife dies, the husband does not sleep in the hut but outside in the open ; or he may join the bachelors' group. This hut is left until it is broken down and rebuilt on another spot by his mother or his wife's younger sister.

At death three incisions are cut between the eyes of the nearest relatives of the dead person. Into these cuts *//na* is rubbed by a medicine-man or the oldest man in a werf. This is a precautionary measure taken to prevent the relatives contracting the disease of which a person dies.

Sickness and death are due to the machinations of the evil spirit *!an wa*, who comes out at night to torment people. Doctoring of sick people then takes place at night only. To facilitate the extraction of the evil spirit from the sick man, the medicine-man calls upon the inmates of the werf to dance. If a medicine-man is not present, fire-brands will be used to burn out the evil.

BOOK NOTICES

Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen, dargestellt von *Carl Meinhof*.
Dietrich Reimer, Berlin 1930. Zwölftes Beiheft zur Zeitschrift
für Eingeborenensprachen. pp. 152.

After Engelbrecht's "Studies oor Korannataal," students in this less well-known field of South Africa linguistics will be pleased to note the appearance of this book, which embodies the results of Meinhof's work near Kimberley in February, 1928. That so much was accomplished in a month, is no doubt due his good previous knowledge of Nama, and to his having been able to publish Bourquin's discovery, the Korana vocabulary of the missionary Wuras.

Some information of ethnographical value about the Korana is given, and it becomes abundantly clear that not much time for first-hand work in Korana is left, for the people is practically extinct. Even as it is, most of the material in this book is based on the information given by one man.

The orthography adopted is the same as that for Nama, with a few necessary changes. It is shown that tone plays an important part in Korana, as it does in all South African languages, Bantu and Non-Bantu alike. The same number of clicks occur. The distinction between clicks accompanied or not accompanied by voicing (written in Zulu e.g. *gc* and *c*) does not exist, according to Meinhof, who distinguishes between clicks with and without glottal closure before the following vowel. This is a controversial point, and perhaps laboratory investigation might be useful. I take it that */n* means that the click is accompanied by voicing through the nose, not that it is followed by *n*.

When dealing with phonology, one sees how difficult it is to find rules for sound-changes in these and all African languages, except Bantu. There is not much material to go on in Korana, it is true, but even comparison with the very closely related Nama dialect does not yield much in this respect, though some changes are remarkable enough, as e.g. Nama *daxab* "tobacco" Korana *baxab*. On the whole, Korana seems to have a more archaic sound-system than Nama.

It certainly is more archaic in its pronominal forms. There is a masculine, feminine and neuter pronoun for singular, dual and plural, with the exception of neuter for 1st and 2nd person singular.

Equally instructive I find the chapters on case endings and the verb. In both respects the formatives (suffixes, etc.) show us an inflecting language at a much earlier stage than we find in say European languages. Take the Genitive for instance, where simple prefixing is often sufficient, or the very common combination of verb-stems, which again reminds one of Sudanic languages. The Syntax does not seem to differ from that of Nama.

A number of texts on simple subjects are given, and one could only have wished there were more of these specimens of living Korana speech, which we know will soon cease for ever to be spoken. There is a substantial vocabulary, and finally, an Appendix on the Griqua dialect. Altogether the book is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of a little known language and people.

N. J. v. WARMELO.

Mhudi, by Sol. T. Plaatje (Lovedale Press, 1930.; 6s.).

A story of Native life written in a simple and interesting style, with the obvious advantage that the author is a Native and not a European trying to portray Native thought. Mr. Plaatje has done a good service in writing this. It is a great pity that for Bantu publications the demand is at present so small among the Bantu themselves that books such as this have to be written in English. *Mhudi* written in Chwana would have been a still greater contribution, and Chwana sadly needs such additions to its present meagre literature.

Mr. Plaatje's story deals with the struggle between the Barolong and the Matebele, and in its course certain of the Voortrekkers come in. It is a pity that the author should have used such spellings as Phil-Jay and Phil-June for Villier's and Viljoen, which would far better have been left in their Afrikaans forms. We must hope that Mr. Plaatje's next effort in this direction will be in the vernacular

C.M.D.

Diphosho-phosho (Comedy of Errors), translated from Shakespeare by Sol. T. Plaatje (Moriya Printing Works, 1930).

Mr. Plaatje has four other translations of Shakespeare's play in the press, issued under the heading of *Mabolelo a ga Tsikinya-chaka*, "*The Sayings of Shake-battle-axe*." I believe that these constitute the first translations of Shakespeare into a Bantu language. There can be no doubt of the value of such publications, especially as this translation is of no mean order, but it is a question as to whether other types of literature

are not at present much more urgently needed in Chwana than this. It is to be hoped that the Department of Native Education will give a clear lead to Chwana writers as to what type of literature is of immediate urgency.

In *Diphosho-phosho* the author has introduced his own modified orthography. This too is a pity in view of the pending settlement of orthography questions—it but adds yet another to the many diverse methods in which Chwana is written; and despite its real improvement in the distinguishing of the vowels *e* and *ɛ*, *o* and *ɔ* by the use of phonetic symbols, other more important improvements are untouched. This book will introduce to the Chwana reader very many new words for which the author has had to search and consult old Natives: before long a new and fuller dictionary will be necessary, and we believe Mr. Plaatje is at present busy upon the compilation of this.

C.M.D.

Transvaal Ndebele Texts, by N. J. v. Warmelo, being vol. I. of Ethnological Publications of the Union Government Department of Native Affairs. (Pretoria, 1930).

This publication is valuable in that it is probably the first serious publication dealing with the language of the Transvaal Ndebele. As the author emphasises these people must not be confused with Mzilikazi's people who settled in Southern Rhodesia; like the latter they are of Zulu origin, but their break-away from Zulu took place in relatively remote times.

The publication contains a few notes on phonology and grammar, and then is devoted to the texts in Ndebele with English translation. A few of the texts deal with customs, but the majority are folk tales, *izibongo* and songs. A short vocabulary is appended. The author has employed the orthography used by Professor Carl Meinhof in his *Zur Lautlehre des Zulu*, using *g* for the Zulu radical *k*, *bh*, *d* and *g* for Zulu *b*, *d* and *g*, *x* for Zulu *h* and one or two alterations which are contingent upon differences between Zulu and Ndebele. It is a pity that this orthography of Meinhof should have been employed in this publication, as the proposed new Zulu orthography is totally distinct from it, and in one or two cases Meinhof is incorrect in his analysis, e.g. in *g* for *k*, which has caused the introduction of clumsy and incorrect forms for the true *b*, *d* and *g*.

But apart from this, these texts are a very welcome addition to Bantu philological knowledge.

C.M.D.

Ga Grammar Notes and Exercises, by M. B. Wilkie (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1930). 3s. 6d. net.

This is probably the first grammar published in the new orthography according to the recent settlements on the West Coast by the International Institute of African Languages and Culture. A perusal of this grammar is eloquent testimony to the tremendous advantages of the use of the special symbols which have been employed. It would have been simpler however to have used "j" instead of "dʒ" since ʒ does not appear alone in the language.

The grammatical section of the book takes about 120 pages, the balance of the 240 pages being devoted to exercises and vocabularies. In the grammatical section nearly 70 are devoted to the verb. The treatment does not pretend to be scientific, but we think that a little more precise classification and tabulation of the facts would have had its advantage, as well as more critical use of the stock grammatical terms employed. The exercises given both in Ga and in English are of extreme value to the book.

C.M.D.

THE GORA AND ITS BANTU SUCCESSORS: A STUDY IN SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE MUSIC*

By PERCIVAL R. KIRBY, M.A., F.R.C.M.,

Professor of Music, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

*"Fast by his wild resounding River
The listless Córán lingers ever,
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Soothed by the gorrah's humming reed."*

—Pringle.

The unique character of the musical instrument usually associated with the Bushmen and Hottentots and generally known as the *goura*, or *gorah*, has for years attracted the attention of travellers in South Africa. In his interesting and valuable paper, "The *Goura*, a Stringed-Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, collated and commented upon some of the important references to the instrument in the works of travellers, and from these, and an examination of several specimens of the instrument in museums in England and the Continent, formed certain conclusions as to the position of the *gora* in the classification of musical instruments.

Further, Balfour suggested that an accurate study of the instrument should be undertaken, since, as he said, it was "rapidly disappearing and becoming obsolete." But although it is true that probably no efficient Bushman or Hottentot performer upon the *gora* is likely to be found to-day, players upon the successors of the instrument, which are identical in structure and in method of performance in certain cases, are by no means rare in the less accessible "locations" in the Union of South Africa. The *ugwala* or *nkwindi* of the Zulu and Xosa, the *lesiba* of the Basuto, and the *kivadi* of the Bechuana show the *gora* as adopted by these different peoples from the Bushmen and Hottentots. Moreover, while the *ugwala* and the *lesiba* show slight divergences in structure from the original type (noted in the latter case by Balfour, p. 175, note

*This essay deals with a portion of "A Survey of the Music and Musical Practices of the Native Peoples of Southern Africa," now being conducted by the writer under the auspices and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Research Grant Board of the Union of South Africa.

on Plate XII, Fig. 3 ; also Plate XII, Figs. 3a and 3b), the *kwadi* of the Bechuana and the *lesiba* as made and used by the Bapedi are practically identical with the *gora* as originally constructed and played by the early Bushmen and Hottentots.

But so far as I am aware, no accurate study of the nature and method of performance has hitherto been made, nor any suggestion of what I believe to be its extreme significance in regard to certain aspects of the evolution of the art of music.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

In considering the whole question, I shall first make a tabular analysis of the leading references to the instrument in the works of travellers, as quoted by Balfour, in chronological order. In so doing, I wish to indicate some of the chief characteristics of the *gora* and the extent to which they have been observed by the travellers in question ; and also to check and comment upon several of Balfour's conclusions.

(See Table I)

To this list I would add extracts from twenty-three other authorities, thirteen of whom wrote their descriptions or definitions of the instrument before Balfour's paper of 1902.

LADY ANNE BARNARD, 1800

In one of her letters from the Cape, Lady Anne Barnard described what is undoubtedly this instrument. Writing on January 5th, 1800, she said " A new Hottentot Chief is arrived in Capetown. One of the Chief's train has a curious instrument, which I am convinced might make a man's fortune in England, so I have bought it of him for 2s.—a stick with a peg and a bit of sheep's gut, which he applies to his lips with a strong exertion from the lungs, and produces a sound as loud as any trumpet. He played the dragoons' music and told me he could learn anything I could teach him by singing. I think when I return I'll bring him in my suite."

If one discounts the undoubted exaggeration contained in the latter sentences, several interesting points remain. Lady Anne did not mention the quill, which is rather surprising, although in several specimens of the *kwadi* which I possess, the quill is very narrow, and is almost concealed by the twistings of the *riem* which secures it to the shaft, as was doubtless often the case with the early *gora* ; but the fact that the player used his lungs in order to produce the sound indicates clearly the true nature of the instrument which she described. The peg mentioned

TABLE I.
WRITERS QUOTED BY BALFOUR, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, WITH SOME OF THEIR MORE IMPORTANT STATEMENTS CLASSIFIED

Name of Writer	Date	Race of Performer(s)	Age and/or sex of Performer(s)	Name of Instrument	Method of Blowing	Laryngeal Sounds	Description of Tone
Kolbe	1704	Hottentot	—	Gom-gom	—	—	"Extremely agreeable."
do.	1704	Hottentot	—	Grand Gom-gom	—	—	do.
Sparrman	1772-6	Hottentot	—	T'Goerra	Inspiration	—	"Grating Sound."
Thunberg	1773	Hottentot	—	Kora	Expiration	—	"Jarring sound."
Le Vaillant	1781	Hottentot	Men	Goura	Inspiration and Expiration	—	"Tolerably melodious."
do.	1781	Hottentot	Women	Jour-Jour	—do— (Wand also used).	—	do.
Barrow	1796	Hottentot	—	Gowra	Inspiration and Expiration	—	"Faint murmurs of distant music."
Lichtenstein	1803-6	Hottentot	Old shepherds and herdsmen	T'Gorrah	Expiration	—	"Plaintive and soothing."
Burchell	1810-12	Bushman	Old musician, male	Gorah	Inspiration and Expiration	Grunting sounds	"Approaches to the violin."
Campbell	1812-14	"Caffre"	Old men	Gorah	Expiration	—	"Agreeable sound."
Moodie	1819-29	Hottentot	—	Gora	"Blowing in a particular way"	—	"Resembles sound of common bugle."
Moffat	1842	Bushman	—	Gora	Inspiration and Expiration	—	"A few soft notes."
Casalis	1861	Basuto	—	Lesiba	Inspiration	—	"A shrill nasal sound."
Fritsch	1872	Bechuana	—	Gcura, Gcorra, Goura, (Lesiba)	—	—	"Terrible Instrument."
Bartle Frere	1878	Bushman	Men and Youths	T'ha	Inspiration	Throat sounds	"A faint sound."
Widdicombe	1891	Basuto	"Boy"	Lesiba	—	—	"Sharp, shrill, nasal sounds."
Monteiro	1891	"Kaffirs," Bushman and Hottentot	—	—	Inspiration and Expiration	—	"A loud and appalling noise."

by Lady Anne may have been either a tuning peg similar to that observed by Barrow at Graaf Reynet in 1796, or a split peg for securing the quill to the staff, such as is commonly found in the Basuto form of the instrument.

But it is significant that Lady Anne Barnard should have compared the loudness of the sound to that of the trumpet, more particularly since she stated that the performer "played the dragoons' music." For it is a fact, as I shall show later, that it is just some of those very sounds that can be elicited from the "natural" trumpet, for centuries associated with cavalry, that can be elicited from the *gora*, and this fact has either been noted explicitly, or hinted at, by several of the writers quoted by Balfour.

T. PRINGLE, 1828

In the Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle, 1828, there appears in the section "African Sketches," dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, a poem entitled "The Córanna," the first four lines of which appear at the beginning of this study. In the notes on this poem, Pringle wrote "The Corannas, Koras, or Koraquas, are a tribe of independent Hottentots, inhabiting the banks of the Gareep, or Great Orange River. They are naturally a wild, indolent, pastoral people, subsisting chiefly on the milk of their goats and cows, and by occasional hunting. The Gorrah is one of the few rude musical instruments peculiar to the Hottentot race. It is not now very often to be met with in the Colony, where it is seldom well played upon except by old shepherds and herdsmen. I have frequently heard it played, but not by a first-rate *gorra-ist*." These statements are followed by quotations from Burchell and Lichtenstein.

B. SHAW, 1841

Barnabas Shaw, in his "Memorials of Southern Africa" writes: The Namacquas have a *fine ear for music*; yet their instruments which are the same as those of the other tribes of the Hottentot family, are but few and simple Another called the goura, consists of a piece of sinew or intestine twisted on a small cord, and fastened to a hollow stick. At one end there is a small peg to bring the string to a proper degree of tension, and at the other a piece of quill fixed into the stick, to which the mouth is applied, and the tones are produced by inspiration and respiration."

It will be noticed that Shaw mentions a tuning-peg (also mentioned by Barrow and Lady Anne Barnard). I have been unable to trace any example of the instrument having this feature, or to obtain any evidence that it has been in use in recent times.

Further, it will be seen that Shaw's description has been used as the basis for that of Ridsdale, quoted below.

J. L. DÖHNE, 1857

In his Zulu-English Dictionary, 1857, the Zulu-Xosa forms of the instrument are thus described. "*U-Gwala*, a kind of flute. In the Xosa a simple piece of reed, one or two feet long. But in Natal a small bow, consisting of a stick and a string fastened at its two ends. At the one end of the string a small piece of reed, from two to three inches long, is fastened, having a hole, to which the mouth is applied. It gives a kind of tremulous sound."

This description is far from accurate, the definition, "a kind of flute," being most misleading. Again, a piece of reed *may* have been used as the vibrator, but I am inclined to believe that in this instance a thin piece of horn, which can easily be mistaken for reed, may have been employed.

C. F. WURAS, 1858

In his "Vocabulary of the Korana Language," Wuras wrongly defines *↳Kora* as a Flute.

T. HAHN, 1867 AND 1870

In "Globus," Vol. 12, p. 335, Hahn, in his description of the Namaqua Hottentots, makes the following reference to the *gora*. "The national instrument, however, is the Gorra, which consists of a pliable bow three or four feet long, on which a string of catgut is stretched. On one end of the string, near where it touches the bow, there is a small quill, and on this the player puts his lip, while he strikes upon the strings with a little stick, now quickly, now slowly, according to the impulse of his mind. The tone of this instrument is comparable to that of an aeolian harp."

The mention of the striker leads me to suspect that Hahn, in writing down his description, confused two different types of instrument, as did Schinz (cf. Schinz, *infra*).

In "Globus," Vol. 18, p. 122, Hahn states that he observed the instrument in the hands of the Bushmen, the district being Bethany, in Namaqualand. He writes: "Another instrument is the well-known lgora, which I have already described."

It is noteworthy that in this instance Hahn places a click before the word *gora*.

W. J. DAVIS, 1872

"The Kaffir-English Dictionary," published in 1872 contains two entries descriptive of the Zulu and Xosa forms of the instrument.

"*U-Gwala*, n. Z(ulu); a kind of musical instrument."

"*I-Gwali*, n. X(osa), a native musical instrument, made of catgut, on a bow of wood, with a quill flattened at one end, to give greater elasticity."

J. W. COLENSO, 1878

Bishop Colenso, in his Zulu-English Dictionary, describes the Zulu type thus: "*Gwala* (*u* for *ulu*) n. Musical instrument of the *abe-Suto*, made of a rod with a stretched string fastened at both ends, and a piece of quill inserted at one end, around which the performer draws his breath and produces a sound something like that of a Jew's harp."

The important point in this description is the fact that at that date the Zulu recognised the *u-Gwala* as a Basuto musical instrument.

B. RIDSDALE, 1883

In "Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand," Rev. B. Ridsdale wrote "The Great Namaqua are very fond of Music, but their instruments, like those of the other tribes of the Hottentot family are few and simple. . . . Another, called the *goura*, consists of a sinew twisted on a small cord, and fastened to a hollow stick. At one end there is a small peg to bring the string to a proper degree of tension, and at the other a piece of quill fixed into the stick, to which the mouth is applied, and tones are produced by breathing."

This description is rather vague, but it is interesting because the author notes the use of the instrument by the Namaqua Hottentots.

KRÖNLEIN, 1889

In the "Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoi," Krönlein defines *gorab* as (1) raven or crow, and as (2) a feather with which the Bushmen play. Query, is this a reference to the musical instrument, or to some game played with a feather? (cf. Schultze, *infra*).

H. SCHINZ, 1891

In his "Deutsch-Südwest Afrika," Schinz, in a most inaccurate and obscure description, says: "Almost equally modest but more pleasant, because audible only to the player, is the /*Gora*, a bow, which is tightly strained by means of a sinew, on the end of which the hollowed half of a calabash is made fast as a resonator, and the player tilts it over his ear and produces high and low sounds by striking the sinew with a little stick. In the absence of a calabash, the sinew is simply grasped by the teeth and the mouth then acts as the resonator."

Schinz has manifestly confused two very different types of instruments but his whole description is so confused and inaccurate that one almost doubts whether he actually saw either type in use. I am confirmed in my suspicions by the note of Ankerman, who definitely stated that what Schinz calls /*gora* is the *gubo*, or musical bow with a calabash resonator.

J. BROWN, 1895

Brown's Secwana Dictionary, 1895, contains the following entries. "*Kwadi-losiba*." "*Losiba*; the outer skin of a goat's bowel, and a musical instrument made from it." "*Lesiba=losiba*." I have not found the word *losiba* in use in Southern Bechuanaland except at Mafeking, though "*lesiba*" is recognised. "*Kwadi*" is the name given to the instrument in the Mochudi district of South Bechuanaland.

KROPF, 1899

In the Kafir-English Dictionary, 1899, the following definition is given. "*U-Gwali*, n.5. (a) An instrument made of the fibres of sinew on a bow of wood with a quill, flattened on one side, to give greater elasticity; the sounds are made by the mouth vibrating on the catgut.

G. W. STOW, 1905

In his memorable work, "The Native Races of South Africa," Stow quotes the description of the '*Joum'joum* from Le Vaillant, but, although the quill is mentioned therein, he does not connect the instrument with the *gora*, which he describes as a separate type, thus "The next instrument was the '*Goer-ra*, '*Goura*, or *Gora*, called also *Sesiba*," (a misprint for *lesiba*) "by the Basuto. It has been appropriated by both the Kaffirs and the Basuto. This also is another invention which has, evidently, had its origin from the bow. In fact it is simply a bow in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the bow itself, is attached to a broad, thin, flexible, tongue-shaped piece of quill which

is firmly fixed and spliced to the end of the bow. It is this piece of quill which acts as a kind of mouth-piece, in a some what analogous manner to the soft reeds of the old-fashioned clarionets. The instrument was played by taking the quill in the mouth, and causing it to vibrate by strong inspirations and expirations of the breath, and therefore might be termed a wind-stringed instrument. The sounds produced were frequently very wild, harsh and discordant. It is said that "with its help the Bushmen could imitate the noise of a bellicose ostrich to perfection." (A footnote attributes this last statement to Miss L. E. Lemué, *Memoir on Bushmen*. Notes by Charles S. Orpen. I have been unable to trace this work). "Sometimes several musicians would perform on the 'Goura' together, raising an unmelodious and unearthly din which, however delightful it might prove to a Native audience, would certainly be more suggestive of a dance of witches round an infernal cauldron, to ears more refined and cultivated, than anything else. Campbell, who in his last journey heard an old man playing upon one of them, likened its sound to the word "*dum-wharry, dum-wharry*," pronounced in a hoarse hollow, tone."

Stow does not quote all his authorities, nor does he state that he heard the instrument played, but it is significant that the first two names which he gives to the instrument are those of Sparrmann and Le Vaillant respectively. He gives a drawing of the instrument, and a detailed drawing of the quill; but here he spells the third name of the instrument 'Gora, introducing a click, which he omits when the word occurs in the text of the book.

A. T. BRYANT, 1905

Father Bryant describes the Zulu form of the instrument in his Zulu-English Dictionary, 1905.

"*U(lu)Gwala=u(lu)Nkwindi*. n. Musical instrument made of a slightly bent *i-nTsangu* stem with a string stretched from end to end, at one of which ends a slit quill is fixed, over which the string passes, and through which the breath is drawn, producing a sound somewhat resembling the cry of a young goat." (*I-nTsangu* is the wild hemp, *cannabis sativa*, used for smoking, etc).

SCHULTZE, 1907

In "Aus Namaland und Kalahari," Schultze states that the *gora* was unknown to the Nama. Schultze, I may add, is recognised as the greatest authority on the Nama.

S. PASSARGE, 1907

In Passarge's "Die Buschmänner der Kalahari," there is a description of the music and musical instruments of these people, in which the following statement occurs: "Their musical instruments are very primitive. Outside the Bow, I have seen no instrument in the possession of the Kalahari Bushmen. The =*Gorra*" (\neq gorra), "the quill of which makes a penetrating and screaming noise, I have not observed among them, but rather among the Bechuana."

F. MAYR, 1908

Father Mayr, who wrote "A short study of Zulu Music," for the Annals of the Natal Government Museum, gave a description of the *ugwala*, the Zulu form of the instrument. "*Ugwala* is in form and size like the *umqangala*" (i.e. the simple musical bow) "except that at one end the string of ox-tendon is attached to the split quill of a feather. The other end of the quill is either bound down to the end of the bow by a thin strip of skin, with a piece of quill projecting freely beyond, or it is passed through a hole in the wood, in which it is tightly wedged by a peg of wood."

"The instrument appears to be a difficult one to use, and women are the chief performers. The mouth is placed over the split quill and a whistling sound is produced by the breath, the pitch is varied by pressing the string at the opposite end with the fingers of the left hand."

It will be noticed that Mayr said that there were in use two methods of securing the quill; but he does not seem to have noticed that in the second of these the peg is split. He also stated that women were the chief performers, but this I have not been able to corroborate. Further, his statement that the pitch of the string was varied by finger pressure I cannot endorse, since I have found that alterations of pitch are universally produced by breath pressure alone.

In a later paragraph, in which he described the tone of eight different Zulu instruments, Mayr said, "Except in the case of the drum, the volume of sound produced is very small, and practically the performer himself is the only person who derives any enjoyment from the music."

S. G. AITCHISON, 1917

In his "Native Social Life," Rev. S. G. Aitchison thus describes the Zulu type. *Ugwali*—This is a wind instrument and is made by

selecting a very smooth stick, about three feet in length. After the bark has been peeled off, the rod is left to dry ; when ready the sinew of a bullock is tied to one end, and to the other is attached the quill of a rook, through which the sinew is threaded and made taut. Musical sounds are produced by placing the lips on the quill and forcibly inhaling and exhaling the breath, the stick being held at right angles to the face.

R. C. SAMUELSON, 1923

The King Cetewayo Zulu Dictionary of Mr. R. C. Samuelson contains two descriptions of the *u-gwala*. The first is : “ *Gwala(ulu.n.)*. A Zulu musical instrument made out of a reed, from one end of which a string is tied and then drawn tightly and fixed to the other end of the reed ; the string is generally of sinews ; to one of the ends of this string a quill, specially cut, is fixed so as to press against the reed ; the music is produced by the player placing his lips over the quill and drawing in his breath strongly and then forcing it out strongly ; the sound can be heard over a mile away.” The second entry occurs in the section entitled “Musical Instruments,” and is as follows : “ *Gwala (ulu.n.)*. This musical instrument is made almost the same as *umqangala* ” (i.e. the simple musical bow) “ with the exceptions that the *ulugwala* reed is more bent ; over the open groove at one end of the reed a piece of very thinly scraped quill or horn is fixed down firmly under the string, the mouth placed over the quill and string, and while breathing is momentarily suspended, a backward and forward suction move of the mouth is put into operation ; the sound can be heard at least a mile off.”

Samuelson also describes the instrument under its alternative Zulu name.

“ *Nkwindi (ulu.N.)*. A musical instrument made of a strong reed, slightly bent from end to end, on which a string is tightly drawn, and fixed under it near to one end is a quill cut thin and flat. N.B.—The player must place his mouth over the quill and draw in his breath, occasionally pressing his breath out over the quill.”

J. A. ENGELBRECHT, 1928

In “Studies oor Korannastaal,” Dr. Engelbrecht writes : “ *Goras* = the musical bow. It consists of an evenly bent stick spanned with a sinew. The last-named consists of two parts, with a feather which is made fast more towards the point of the stick. The men play this instrument.”

C. MEINHOF, 1930

Meinhof, in "Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen," defines *gora* in a most misleading fashion as "A flute with a string; attached thereto is a feather, which vibrates and gives forth a sound." Further, he quotes from Krönlein, "N(ama) *gorab*, a performance with a bird's feather by the Bushmen. According to Engelbrecht the *goras*" (*sic*) "is the musical bow."

RATSHOSA, GRANDSON OF KHAMA, of the Bamangwata tribe (Bechuana), 1931.

Ratshosa, whom I met at Mafeking in February, told me that the Bechuana form of the instrument is called *losiba*, this word being derived from *lesiba*, a quill. The staff is made from any kind of wood, but not from a hollow reed. The string is of twisted sinew. The quill, which is secured to the string, is laced on to the staff by another piece of sinew. A slit was made in the quill to improve the sound. The sound is produced by drawing in the breath. Other sounds are made by the throat. The *losiba* is played by men and young boys both before and after circumcision. He knew no rule concerning the playing of this instrument. It is played while herding, or while sitting by the fire in the evening. The music of the *losiba* is purely instrumental, and it can be imitated by humming without words.

I must confess I am doubtful about the hole which Ratshosa said was made in the quill. None of the examples of the Bechuana type which I possess, or those which I have seen in use in Bechuanaland, have such a slit, which, in my opinion, would seriously damage the tone, if, indeed, it were possible to produce it at all.

I do not think that Balfour's conclusion that the accounts which he quotes show a deterioration in skill in performance is borne out by the facts. The true inference to be drawn from an examination of them seems to me to be that they represent descriptions of performances by many players differing greatly in skill written by men whose capacity for observation varied as much as their ability to judge musical performances, especially those of non-European peoples.

Moreover, some important points have been overlooked. Lichtenstein's splendid account of the *gora* was taken from the 1815 English translation, which is not only faulty, but incomplete. That Lichtenstein almost hit upon the true nature of the instrument will be seen if one compares a modern translation from his original German (in which the

real meaning of the musical terms employed is made clear) with my own account of the technique of the successors of the *gora* and the kind of music which can be performed upon them. This description of the music played is as follows: "Between the foundation tone and the octave lie only three intervals, of which the first is at least somewhat smaller than our major third; the second lies in the middle, between the diminished and the perfect fifth; and the third between the major sixth and the minor seventh; so that at first one imagines that one hears the chord of the minor" (dominant) "seventh. Yet every sound lies higher in relation to the foundation tone; the ear does not feel the need for resolution on to the triad; it remains quite satisfied without it. Practised players also draw out the second, and sometimes even the third interval in the higher octave. Still, these high tones are somewhat shrill, and are seldom pure octaves of the corresponding lower sounds. True melodies are never to be heard; they only ring the changes on these sounds, long sustained, the foundation tone being sounded before each one. It deserves to be remarked in passing that these intervals are not peculiar to this instrument alone, but are also characteristic of the vocal music of each of the African savages."

It will be seen that Lichtenstein is really describing a portion of the "harmonic series," which, as I shall show, is precisely what is heard when the *gora* is played, the departure from correct intonation in the case of the extreme notes being most probably due to alteration in the tension of the string as between the lower and higher sounds, since the string has considerable elasticity.

Burchell's elaborate description of the *gora* is supported by a coloured drawing of a Native musician playing upon the instrument which has been reproduced again and again, together with the title given to it by him "Bushman performing upon the *goura*." But one point has not been made clear. Burchell, throughout his description, uses the words Bushman and Hottentot interchangeably, so that it is incorrect to assume that the performer was of a Bushman race.

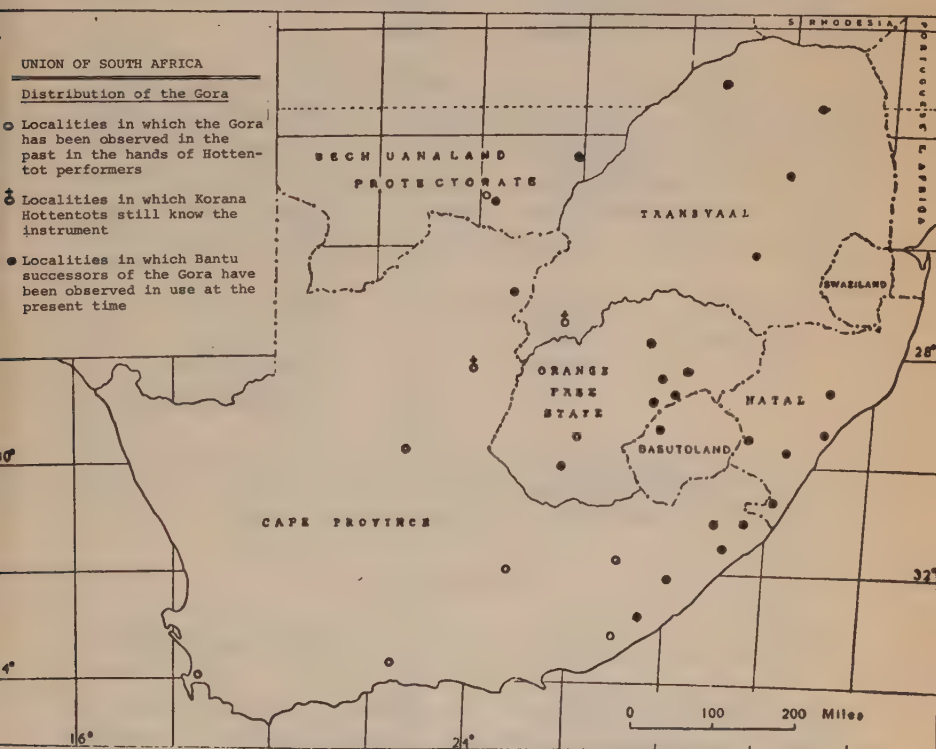
Again, the musical notation which appears below Burchell's drawing, and which is intended to represent the music performed by the "Bushman," *cannot be played* upon the *gora*, and what is more, the string of the instrument is drawn in such a direction that no sound could be elicited from it by inspiration or expiration, since, to produce sound from the *gora*, the string must be at right angles to the axial line of the face. This will be seen if my photographs of Bapedi performers are examined.

I am inclined to the view that the *gora* belonged originally to the

Hottentots, and more particularly to the Korana. It does not appear to have been characteristic of the Bushmen, as so often stated, and when used by them, it was in all probability borrowed by them from the Korana. It will be observed that all the eighteenth century writers quoted by Balfour ascribe the instrument to the Hottentots, and with the exception of Kolbe give it a name which is a variant of the word *gora*. Now *gora* is a Korana word (vide Wuras, Engelbrecht and Meinhof), and no word connected with it is found in Bushman. Bartle Frere, who said that the instrument was played by the Bushman, called it *t'ha*, and a similar term *l/ha* occurs in a tale in Bleek and Lloyd's "Bushman Folklore," where, however, it is translated "*playing upon the gora*," and therefore does not necessarily mean the instrument.

The lax way in which early writers used the terms Bushman and Hottentot, (as instanced by Burchell), no doubt led to this misconception. Schultze and Passarge, two of the most reliable observers, state quite definitely that the *gora* was unknown to the Nama and to the Kalahari Bushmen respectively. None of the Bechuanaland residents whom I have met who have lived among the true Bushmen have ever heard a Bushman play an instrument of the *gora* type. An old Makalahadi (Native of the Kalahari) whom I interrogated at Kanye, Bechuanaland, told me in February, 1931, that he remembered the instrument. It was called *losiba*. It was played by males only, either in the day-time or round the fire. Only one man played at a time; the others never sang. There was no hole in the quill except that through which the string, of gnu sinew, was secured. The staff was of river reed about three and a half feet long. The feather was from the *paauw* (*kgore*), a species of bustard. At Kanye I also interrogated an old man of the Mongwaketse tribe, named Tiro. He is reputed to be a hundred and ten years old, and it is certain that he knew Moffat, the missionary. He described to me how, as a youngster, he hid in the bush when Moselikatse and his impis went through the country. Tiro told me that the *losifa* (*losiba*) was obtained by his people from the south, from the Batlapin of the Taungs district. At Kanye, the police interpreter, Jantjie, told me that he knew the *losiba*, and remembered having seen it played some years ago when he was at Kat River, near East London. He imitated the sound of the instrument, whistling by inspiration, and grunting by expiration. He, further, said that the quill, as he knew it, was made from an ostrich feather, and that learners were told not to draw the breath inwards with too much force lest the quill should be sucked into the throat. I believe that this is a possibility, considering the method of attaching the quill used by the Bechuana and Hottentots.

A further argument in support of my suggestion that the *gora* is not a true Bushman instrument is found in the fact that it is used only by pastoral peoples, which the Bushmen are not, and it is used in connection with cattle-herding. Among the Bechuana, the instrument is found at the cattle posts; while among the Basuto, it is made and played by boys who have been promoted from sheep and goat herding to cattle herding, and they leave off playing it when they cease to herd cattle, although they naturally retain their ability to perform upon it. Dr. Dyke of Mafeking, who has lived for a considerable time in Basutoland, emphasised this point, and further stated that the Basuto believe that the sound of the *lesiba* gives the cattle contentment, and causes them to feed better.



"Distribution of the Gora and its Bantu Successors."

The *gora* would therefore appear to have been found among the Korana Hottentots, most probably in the neighbourhood of the Orange River, although it has also been found among the Gonaqua, Namaqua, and Cape Hottentots. It seems to have been adopted from them

by those races capable of appreciating its use. Wherever they went, the *gora* went with them, and the map shows how widespread it was, covering as it did practically the whole of what is to-day the Union of South Africa, if one excepts the Kalahari desert, in which it does not appear to have taken root. But as the Hottentot race became dispersed, its scattered members would appear to have lost interest in the instrument, so that not only do they not generally use it to-day, preferring cheap and simple European instruments, but the very word *gora* has ceased to be applied to it by them, except among the Korana. Those races, however, which borrowed the *gora* from the Korana, have not only retained it in use, but have, in its progress from West to East and South, slightly improved its design. The technique of performance and the nature of the music performed has remained the same.

The philological aspect of the problem I hope to deal with fully in another paper, but I should like to point out here that there would appear to be a consistent connection between the names given to the instrument by the various races and the name of the bird or birds from which the quill, the essential part of the mechanism, is derived. The following examples will show the concordance of the various languages :

<i>Language</i>	<i>Name of Instrument</i>	<i>Name of Bird.</i>
Korana	Gora	Gorab (raven).
Suto	Lesiba	Lesibo (a bird).
Zulu	uGwala	Gwalagwala (loury).

I tabulate the additional authorities which I have quoted in the same way in which I tabulated those quoted by Balfour. The same discrepancies of observation and judgment will be noticed.

(See Table II.)

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE AND PERFORMANCE

The following description of the instrument and the manner of playing upon it will, I hope, demonstrate its true nature and capabilities. This particular description applies to the instrument as found among, and played by, the Bapedi in Secocoenieland (N.E. Transvaal), at the present day. The form and construction of this particular type is practically identical with that made and used by the early Bushmen and Hottentots, and it is called by the Bapedi the *lesiba*, the name by which it is known among the Basuto.

ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY, V

Name of Writer	Date	Race of Performer(s)	Age and/or sex of Performer(s)
Lady Anne Barnard	1800	Hottentot	Male
Pringle	1828	Korana (Hottentot)	Old shepherds and herdsmen
Shaw	1841	Hottentot	—
Döhne	1857	Zulu-Xosa	—
Wuras	1858	Korana (Hottentot)	—
Hahn	1867	Nama (Hottentot)	—
do.	1870	Bushman	—
Davis	1872	Zulu	—
do.		Xosa	—
Colenso	1878	Zulu	—
Ridsdale	1883	Nama (Hottentot)	—
Krönlein	1889	Bushman	—
Schinz	1891	Nama (Hottentot)	—
Brown	1895	Bechuana	—
do.		Bechuana	—
do.		Bechuana	—
Knopf	1899	Zulu-Xosa	—
Stow	1905	Bushman	Male
do.		Basuto	—
Bryant	1905	Zulu	—
Schultze	1907	—	—
Passarge	1907	Bechuana	—
Mayr	1908	Zulu	Women
Aitcheson	1917	Zulu	—
Samuelson	1923	Zulu	—
Engelbrecht	1928	Korana (Hottentot)	Men
Meinhof	1930	Korana (Hottentot)	—
Ratshosa	1931	Bechuana	Male, young men and boys

NAME OF THEIR MORE IMPORTANT STATEMENTS CLASSIFIED.

Instrument	Method of Blowing	Laryngeal Sounds	Description of Tone
Goura, (ra) esiba) uNkwindi	"Strong exertion from the lungs."	—	"As loud as any trumpet."
	—	—	"The gorrah's humming-reed."
	Inspiration and Expiration	—	—
	—	—	"A kind of tremulous sound."
	—	—	—
	Striking with a stick	—	"Comparable to that of an Aeolian harp."
	—	—	—
	Expiration	—	"A kind of tremulous sound."
	—	—	—
	Inspiration	—	"A sound something like that of a Jew's harp."
	Breathing	—	—
	—	—	—
	—	—	—
	—	—	—
	—	—	—
	—	—	—
	"Mouth vibrating on the catgut."	—	—
	Inspiration and Expiration	—	"Frequently wild, harsh and discordant."
	—	—	—
	Inspiration	—	"Somewhat resembling the cry of a young goat."
Nkwindi	—	—	—
	—	—	"A penetrating and screaming noise."
	—	—	"Volume of sound produced is very small."
	Inspiration and Expiration	—	—
	Inspiration and Expiration	—	—
	—	—	"Can be heard over a mile away."
	Inspiration	Throat sounds	—

The shaft of the instrument consists of a piece of straight or very slightly curved knotted hollow river reed, or, alternatively, of solid wood from some tree, about three feet long and about five-eighths of an inch in average diameter. The string is made from pieces of the back sinew of an ox twisted together. At one end this string is secured to a strip of quill prepared from the feather of a vulture, bustard or other bird. The quill has been split and flattened out, and the broad end trimmed into a leaf shape, as shown in Plate II. The string passes through a tiny hole pierced in the quill, and is prevented from slipping back again by being twisted and spliced. The quill is secured to the shaft by a narrow piece of *riem*, or hide, the end of the quill being looped definitely between the twistings of the *riem* to prevent its working loose. The *riem* also at one point acts as a "nut" or "bridge" which serves to raise the string from the shaft. The other end of the string is secured to the appropriate end of the shaft by being bound round the shaft in such a way that it is clear of it, and it also may be tightened or slackened by the player at will, before or after performance.

Before playing, the performer moistens the sinew with the juice of a leaf, presumably to prevent rattling. No special leaf is used for this purpose. The instrument is held to the right or left of the performer, the practice of holding a mouth-blown or mouth-resonated instrument to the right or left being determined among these people by whether the performer is right or left-handed. Both hands are used to brace the instrument against the mouth, in such a way that the shaft does not touch the face, and the quill lies free between the widely stretched and narrowly-parted lips. The fingers and thumbs also serve to support the muscles of the lips and upper neck. Consequently, no modification of the length of the string is possible during performance, pitch difference being produced by variations in breath pressure, and in the size and shape of the oral cavity. The instrument, as will be seen, is very exhausting to play, and this fact was noted by Burchell and Monteiro, and hinted at by Lady Anne Barnard.

Among the Bapedi the *lesiba* is only played by young boys and is usually discarded by them on entering the "*koma*" or circumcision school.

The method of performance is as follows: The player, having crushed a leaf between his fingers, and having rubbed the juice along the sinew to moisten it, tightens the sinew by drawing that end of it which is secured to the staff by "whipping" towards the tip of the staff until

upon testing it by blowing upon the quill, it is of a pitch suitable for his purpose. As far as I can judge, this pitch is governed by the fact that the performer, who is desirous of producing certain of the "partial" tones of the string, adjusts its fundamental pitch so that the "partials" that can be produced may be readily and effectively resonated by the alterable cavity of his mouth. He then holds the instrument to his mouth after the manner illustrated in the photographs, the quill being placed between the slightly parted, though widely-stretched lips, which form a long and narrow slit, which the flat surface of the quill just occupies. The fingers, as already stated, keep the staff from touching the face, and also support the muscles of the lips and neck. The quill and string are therefore free to vibrate. Both inspiration and expiration are used in agitating the quill. The nature of the tune played, and the skill of the performer, determines the proportion of each. The capability of performers varies greatly even between players of the same tribe. Three boys from one kraal were found by me to differ in ability to a remarkable extent, not only in respect of the tunes played, but also with regard to the quality of the tone produced. This fact is surely sufficient to explain away the differences of opinion regarding the tone of this instrument and the nature of the melodies played upon it which occur in the accounts of the various travellers.

The tone is, when well produced, very pleasant, partaking of the qualities of both string and wind, reminding one of an Aeolian harp; and it can be varied in power from a faint whisper to a strong, vibrant sound, the air column of the mouth and throat acting as a resonator.

In the following example of the simplest type of tune played on the *lesiba* which I have observed and collected, the performer alternates inspiration and expiration, the former causing the string of the instrument to give forth one of its partials quite prominently (although some of the lower ones, and even the fundamental itself, can also be faintly heard at times), the latter serving to release the breath, and being accompanied by a laryngeal sound, or grunt, of indefinite pitch (noted by Burchell and Bartle Frere, although not explained by them).

Ex. I.

♩ = 72 (approx).

C = 517.3 vibr. per sec.

(a) *etc.*

(b)

(a) Sounds produced prominently by vibration of the string brought about by inspiration. Other (and lower) sounds of the same harmonic series are also audible.

(b) Laryngeal sounds of indefinite pitch produced by rapid and forcible expiration.

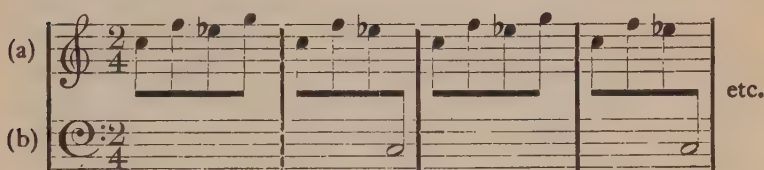
Note : It must be understood that the pitch of the notes indicated in this and in the following examples is not what it would be if they were played in equal temperament (as on a piano) but as if played as the natural harmonics of a stretched string or open pipe. The relation of the pitch, as noted, to the standard pitch is likewise only approximate, although this is comparatively unimportant.

In tunes of more developed type, fewer laryngeal sounds are produced. The performer has accordingly fewer opportunities of emptying the lungs satisfactorily, and consequently the strain of performance is increased. Ex. 2 shows a tune of this nature.

Ex. 2.

♩=72 (approx).

C=517.3 vibr. per sec.



(a) Sounds produced prominently by vibration of the string, brought about by inspiration. Other (and lower) sounds of the same harmonic series are also audible.

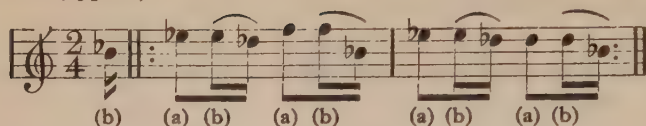
(b) Laryngeal sounds of indefinite pitch produced by rapid and forcible expiration.

But in the melodies played by the most skilful performers the laryngeal sounds are entirely absent, or at least practically inaudible. In such cases the player sets the string in vibration by alternating inspiration and expiration, and the tone produced is of remarkable purity and carrying power. Ex. 3 illustrates a characteristic tune of this type.

Ex. 3.

♩=72 (approx).

C=517.3 vibr. per sec.



(a) Sounds produced by expiration.

(b) Sounds produced by inspiration.

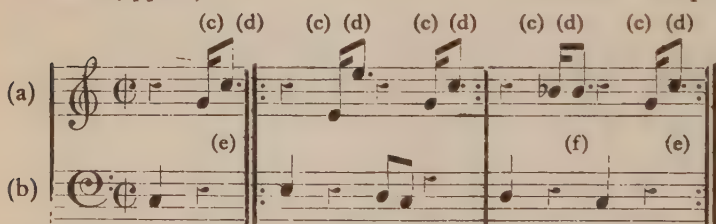
The lower tones of the harmonic series involved, even down to the fundamental, tend to colour the whole at times. The passage within the double bars is repeated until the player is exhausted, when he stops to breathe, and then begins again. The performer from whom this tune was obtained played it first with E_b as the fundamental pitch of the string, and afterwards pulled it up to F. Each performance lasted only a few seconds.

Still another type of tune is found. The example which I quote was played on the *lesiba* by a Basuto in Johannesburg.

Ex. 4.

♩=70 (approx).

C=517.3 vibr. per sec.



(a) Sounds produced prominently by vibration of the string, brought about by inspiration.

(b) Laryngeal sounds of *definite* pitch produced by expiration.

(c) Sounds (from string) produced by expiration.

(d) Sounds (from string) produced by inspiration.

(e) Sometimes the upper G is sounded here, instead of C.

(f) Sometimes D is sounded here, instead of B_b —.

I have also heard a Bechuana Native produce higher partials of the harmonic series than those noted in the examples which I have given, exactly as suggested by Lichtenstein.

At a later date I hope to add an harmonic analysis of the various tones of the instrument, to supplement the musical notation used in the above examples.

An examination of the examples I have quoted yields the following results.

The sounds produced by setting the string of the *lesiba* into vibration by inspiration or expiration, are certain partials of a given harmonic series, the fundamental of which is determined by the length, thickness and tension of the string. The partials chiefly used are on the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of the series, (and occasionally the 10th and 12th), particular prominence being given to the 7th which, in modern European music is regarded as inharmonic, and therefore undesirable, since it is in conflict with the tempered system in general use).

The importance of this instrument can scarcely be overrated, not only because of the unique method of sound-production utilised (as noted by Balfour, p. 156), but also because of the actual employment for melodic purposes, of upper partials of the harmonic series. This practice must have been a powerful and direct factor in fixing what one may term "focal points" in the musical scales of the various peoples who have from time to time employed this instrument. I have elsewhere attempted to show how the lower partials of the harmonic series must have influenced the development of musical scales and of primitive harmony and polyphony ("Some Problems of Primitive Harmony and Polyphony, with Special Reference to Bantu Practice,") but the cases which I quoted dealt with examples of instruments in which the principal tone produced was the fundamental of an harmonic series, the higher overtones being only occasionally used, or only faintly audible. The case of the *gora* and its descendants, the *ugwala*, the *lesiba* and the *kwadi* is, as I have shown, quite different, because of the deliberate use of harmonics by the player. Such controlled use of harmonics is by no means common in Bantu music, but since the other cases which I have come across are of instruments of a nature quite distinct from that of the *gora*, I shall not consider them here.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to Mr. W. P. Barnard of Secocoenieland, for the great help given him in investigating the nature and characteristics of the Bapedi *lesiba*, to Professor L. F. Maingard, of the University of the Witwatersrand, for valuable suggestions in connection with the philological and bibliographical aspects of the work, and to Mr. W. P. Paff, of the University of the Witwatersrand, for his assistance in the field and in preparing the plates for this paper.

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PLATE I



- (1) *kwadi* (Bechuana). (2) *lesiba* (Bapedi).
(3) *lesiba* (Basuto). (4) *ugwala* (Zulu).

The quill end of the instruments, showing the methods of attaching the quill.

- (1) *kewadi* (Bechuana). Quill attached by a piece of *riem*.
- (2) *lesiba* (Bapedi). Quill attached by a piece of cotton cord.
- (3) *lesiba* (Basuto). Quill secured by a split peg with a flat top.
- (4) *ugwala* (Zulu). Quill secured by a split peg, the edges of which are sharpened so that the quill (or horn) vibrates more freely.

(Note the improvement in manufacture from West to East)

PLATE III



Lesiba player No. 1 seen from left front.

PLATE IV



Lesiba player No. 1 seen from back.

PLATE V



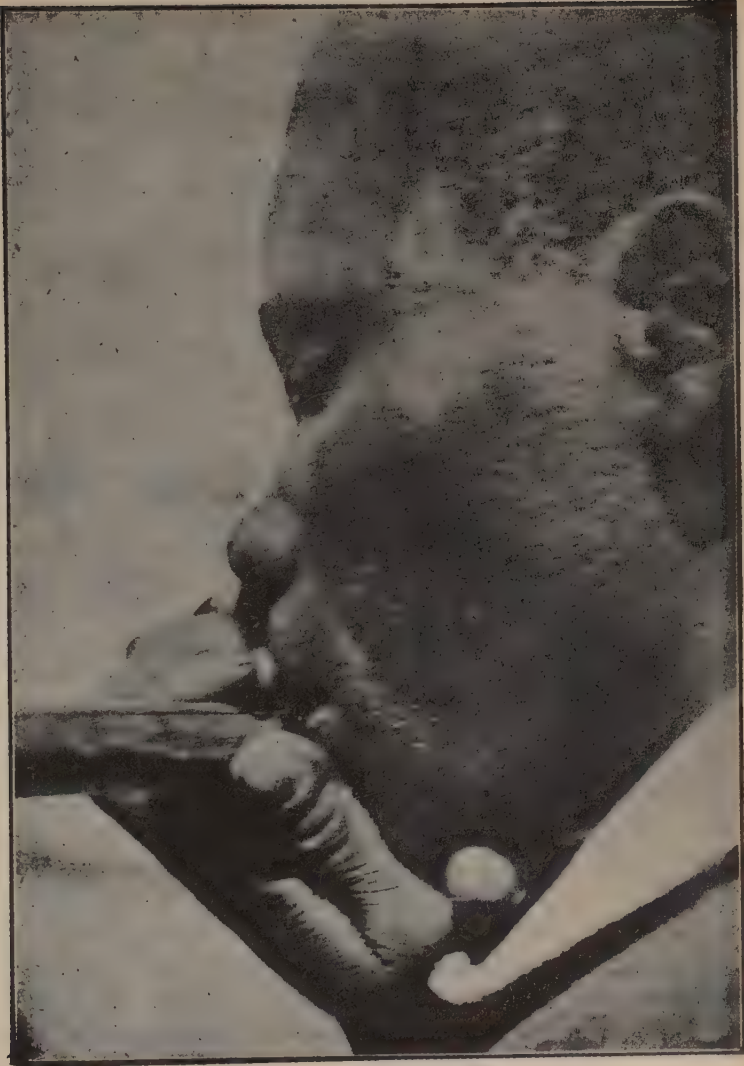
Lesiba player No. 1 seen from front.

PLATE VI



Lesiba player No. 2 seen from left front.

PLATE VII



Lesiba player No. 2 seen from left back, showing the elaborate hand hold, and the tip of the quill between the player's slightly parted lips.

Photographs by William P. Paff, Lecturer in Music, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

H. "Eib "oob ti "am "oob tika.

Genesis 2. 18. "Na ceebga keib itoa "uñ o.
itsoa "oo.

T. Hee "oobka Adami "kui bga tye ha ka?

H. Haa, hwa kuen gaty ha. Romain 5, 12.

T. Tanta "amm "oob gu orebada?

H. Teoip Christip.

Artikel II.

2 Kumreka Teoip Christip Cy "koab ti

"kui oam, sida "gub, "go "oaty ha "geira
"umo gu, oaty ha oageis Maria sa, thū
• amme ibtye ha Pontip Pilatip ceebga
ibtye ke ha, "kauebtye ha, "ooby ha, "nauebtye
ha, kellega "a ibtye "küaga, "nona "eimb
cee bga "keibtye ha "oobgu, "humiga "oa
"awabtye ha, ibtye Cy "koab ti "amm "oam
"na "nua, "naba gu ibtye "gawaha,
• kues ran ti "oosa tina "koraka.

T. Hame Teoip Christip ba?

H. Cy "koab ti oam, "ama "ei Cy "koab,
"ama "ei kueib lika.

Toarnip 5. 20. Heebtye "ama "ei Cy "koab
i "ammo "kueimb.

T. Taaiba Teoip ti "kona?

H. Brieb ti "aub.

A REVISED MANUSCRIPT VERSION OF THE KORANA CATECHISM OF C. F. WURAS⁽¹⁾

BY PROFESSOR L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LIT.

University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg

HISTORY OF THE TEXT

This Ms., which is in the Grey Collection of the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, is the first and the only long and connected text we have in the language of that ancient and interesting remnant of the Hottentot nation—the Korana. Its importance lies in the fact that from it we are in a position to deduce the state of the language as it was spoken between 1840 and 1858. As early as 1858, W. H. J. Bleek appreciated this revision from an earlier copy, thus : “ This represents, now, a very valuable document of a language, which is almost extinct.”⁽²⁾

The stress which should be laid on the “ now ” of the above quotation will be apparent after a perusal of the following letter of Wuras to Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape Colony, a munificent patron of learning and the collector of the many valuable incunabula, old manuscripts and rare books which now adorn the shelves of the Grey room in the South African Public Library in Cape Town. Keenly interested in the Native languages of South Africa and anxious to add to his stock of manuscripts, the Governor had written personally to Wuras. The answer from the German missionary came as promptly as the slow post of those days allowed :

(1) I have to thank (i) the Bantu Research Committee of the Witwatersrand University under whose auspices this research was conducted and from whom a grant was obtained ; (ii) the Trustees and the Keeper of the Grey Collection (Mr. A. C. G. Lloyd) for permission to photostat the Ms. and to publish, and the latter and various members of the staff of the South African Public Library for help afforded in many directions.

(2) Bleek—“ *The Library of Sir George Grey*,” Vol. I, Part I, (1858), p. 22.

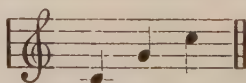
Bethany, (Free State), March 7th, 1857.

To His Excellency Sir George Grey.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 7th of January. It would have afforded me much pleasure to comply with your request in reference to a copy of the Catechism in the Korana language ; but I have none left. In the year 1848, after our flight I found so many papers destroyed, that I believe they and my manuscript grammar were included in the general wreck. I completed it for my own use in instructing the catechumens. I lent a copy of it to Mr. Giddy who printed it and sent me some copies but I found them so defective, for many of the propert-tys (*sic*) or marks to express the sounds peculiar to the language that they were completely useless. I therefore threw them aside. I found by experience that it was easier to teach the young people to read dutch. The old people could not learn at all. Your Excellency will better understand this, if I give him a specimen of the different words required to express the various meanings of the letter *a* (broad),

□ <i>a</i> , to love	—this mark □ is a broad click.
□ <i>a</i> , to say	—a broad click with a slight nasal sound.
∩ <i>a</i> , to slaughter	—a half broad click.
∩ <i>ã</i> , to be hongry (<i>sic</i>)	—a half broad click with a broad nasal sound.
□ <i>a</i> , to be thirsty	—a broad click with first slight guttural (<i>sic</i>).
□ <i>ã</i> , thick	—broad click with broad nasal sound.
∧ <i>a</i> , sharp	—a sharp click.
∧ <i>a</i> , to steal	—sharp click with second guttural (<i>sic</i>).
∧ <i>ã</i> , wet	—sharp click and second guttural with broad nasal sound.
° <i>a</i> , to weep	—third very deep guttural (<i>sic</i>).
• <i>a</i> , to drink	—second guttural (<i>sic</i>).
<i>a</i> , yes	—(broad).

There is another difficulty connected with the language as in the words : *geib* (dark), *geib* (the spot), *geib* (handkerchief). The distinction in the pronunciation is that the first is spoken in a low key, the second in a higher and the third still higher, as,



Your Excellency will perceive how difficulty (*sic*) it would be to express such sounds in printing. Owing to these obstacles I gave up my original intention of publishing any book in the Korana language. Another

reason was, that the people of this station being isolated and surrounded by dutch farmers, it was more generally usefull (*sic*) that they learnt dutch.

(s) C. F. Wuras
Superintendent of the
Berlin Mission Society⁽³⁾

Carl Friedrich Wuras landed in South Africa in the middle of 1836, as a member of a second group of missionaries, "die Brüder der zweiten Aussendung," as the German historian of the Berlin mission has it, to join those already established at Bethany in the Orange Free State. He soon took the leading part in the affairs of the mission to which his character, energy and ability entitled him.⁽⁴⁾ Nor did his enterprise stop there. Soon after his arrival we find him translating the small Lutheran Catechism into the language of the people he was evangelising, in conjunction with Gert Cloete, the Korana interpreter and one of the first converts of the mission,⁽⁵⁾—a very useful check on his newly acquired language. His proficiency was such that in June 1841—exactly five years after he had set foot in Bethany, he was able to preach his first Korana sermon,⁽⁴⁾ with what fluency we can picture from a subsequent report of his eventful trip to the Vaal river in 1843, when he gained the confidence of even the Korana children who flocked round and held him by the hand when they heard him speak their own tongue.⁽⁶⁾

It must also have been in 1841 that Wuras "lent a copy (of the Catechism) to Mr. Giddy," who printed it. He was the Rev. Richard Giddy, the Wesleyan Missionary, then stationed at Thaba 'Nchu, in the Free State, about 80 miles north-east of Bethany, where the Mission had a printing press. For indeed, Giddy writes in a letter of the 6th of December, 1841,—a fact which, incidentally, fixes definitely the date of the printed copy: "we have printed lately a Catechism in the Coranna language."⁽⁷⁾

(3) The last paragraph or two are omitted here, as being of no immediate interest. Although it was published by Bleek, op. cit. p. 19-20, note, the book is so scarce that it is necessary to give it here.

(4) Wangemann (Th.) *Die Berliner Mission in Korannalande*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 30 and 54.

(5) Krankenstein. (Ed.) *Kurze Geschichte der Berliner Mission in Süd Africa*, 3te Auflage, Berlin, p. 11.

(6) *Jahresberichte der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Evangelischen Missionen unter der Heiden*, Berlin, 1843, p. 46.

(7) *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, No. 44, New series, August 1842, p. 114.

The Grammar he refers to in the letter to Sir George Grey was subsequently published in 1850 and partially (?) by the Rev. W. Appleyard in his "Kafir Language" and "the general wreck" where all his manuscripts were destroyed took place during the war between the English and the Free State boers, which was consequent upon the proclamation of the British Sovereignty between the Orange and the Vaal rivers and which culminated in the battle of Boomplaats, on the road to Bethany (1848). During these tragic events, Wuras, saddened by the recent death of his wife, had to flee to Colesberg, where he arrived on the 2nd August and the little community at Bethany dispersed. When Wuras returned on September 15th, all had been destroyed and the books and papers had disappeared, including the Catechism.⁽⁸⁾

Nothing daunted, Sir G. Grey, in his eagerness to secure the coveted booklet, directed his Aide-de-camp,⁽⁹⁾ Capt. J. F. Travers, to enquire from the Rev. Appleyard, the Wesleyan Missionary at Mt. Coke, in British Caffraria, who sent back his own original copy, which, he recognised, would be better in the Grey Collection.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Governor took immediate steps to have such a rarity secured against further contingencies, by having it reproduced in a number of facsimile copies. Appleyard's letter is dated May 28th, 1857. In the early days of June, that is as soon as it was received, Grey wrote to George James Pike, of 59, St. George's Street, who boasted of "the best printing machine in the Colony" and whose long-established firm had had a great deal of experience in this kind of work, as they had printed Sotho books for the "Société des Missions Evangéliques" of Basutoland (1836-1842) and a number of Nama works (1845-57).⁽¹¹⁾ Pike himself was a conscientious man, very willing to please his distinguished customer, and the facsimile copy with its wealth of typographical corrections in his own handwriting and the two letters addressed to His Excellency are⁽¹²⁾ a testimony to the care with which the work was done.

(8) Wangemann, op. cit. p. 104-106.

(9) *Almanac of the Cape of Good Hope* (1857) p. 73.

(10) The letter is addressed to Capt. Travers, Government House. It is preserved in a bound volume of Mss. catalogued by Hahn (Th.) "*An index to the Grey Collection* (1884), p. 105 as South Africa—Hottentot," Nos. 1-38, a large quarto volume."

(11) *Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, p. 115 of the Annual Advertiser and also in the Cape Town Directory. For the Native works published by Pike, see Bleek, op. cit., passim.

(12) Of the two letters, one, undated, is addressed personally to Grey; the other is dated June 13th, 1857. Both are in the same volume of Mss. in the Grey Collection as Appleyard's letter.

Wuras had complained, as we have seen, of the futility of Mr. Giddy's editing (and we shall have ample occasion subsequently, to justify his dissatisfaction). A copy of the facsimile edition was now sent to him. This he returned and the six pages of the pamphlet are covered with emendations, substitutions of Korana words for the Dutch originally used and new symbols for clicks.

Wuras was apparently still dissatisfied, for there is a revised version of the Catechism in Ms. which forms the object of the present publication. In 1927, the Nama authority, H. Vedder, published in the *Festschrift Meinhof*, a copy of the original printed Catechism discarded by the author himself and which Vedder believed then to be the only copy in existence, as he seems to have been ignorant of the copies, original and facsimiles, and the manuscript, lying in the Grey Collection. I consider the revised Ms. version as still more important and, had he known it, I have no doubt that Vedder would have published it in preference to the unsatisfactory original. For the Ms. represents the last word in the progress towards perfection which that indefatigable Korana scholar was pursuing.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXTS

This has been excellently done by Bleek in his "*Library of Sir G. Grey*," Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 22. But, as has been said before, the scarcity of the book makes it advisable to subjoin here a very brief description :

No. 21 Appleyard's original printed copy—no title page, but "Catechism" written in ink on face page. Bleek believed this to be the only original copy in existence.

No. 21a. Facsimile copy, with title page.

No. 21b. Facsimile copy, with G. J. Pike's typographical corrections.

No. 21c. Facsimile copy, with Wuras' corrections. On the title page, on the right hand, at the bottom of the page, these words in ink "With the Author's Manuscript corrections."
(All the above 21—21c are printed copies of 6 pages, 12-mo. All the facsimile copies have a title page).

No. 21d. Ms. copy, 8vo. ; 8 pages in Wuras' handwriting.

These are all, preserved in the Grey Collection in the Volume described in Note (10), and are renumbered by Hahn, Nos. 25-29.

DATE OF MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript does not bear any date. We shall therefore have to be content with approximations. It must not have been begun earlier than the date of the corrections made by Wuras on his facsimile copy which could not have been sent to him before June 13th, 1857, the date of Pike's letter to Sir George Grey, which seems to convey that he had finished his printing. Another 10 days or so would be necessary for the facsimile to reach Bethany (cp. Wuras' letter of the 11th November 1858, quoted below and the date of its reception in Cape Town, 21st November 1858). Hence Wuras must have begun his Ms. in the latter part of 1857 at the earliest.

It was completed before February, or most probably March 1858. It is catalogued in Bleek's "*Library of Sir George Grey*," p. 22, i.e., before the Addenda from p. 171 were made, and the date of the latest periodical in this substantial part of the Catalogue is No. 5 of the *Mokaeri oa Becuana le Muleri oa mahuku—Tlakole* February 3rd. 1858—a Sehlapu publication (p. 158 No. 307), printed at Kuruman, and if we allow for another month for it to reach Cape Town, we come to the date March 1858.

We therefore have the two extreme dates : July 1857—March 1858. The result is not quite satisfactory, but unfortunately, greater precision cannot be expected, in the present state of our knowledge.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Vedder's work already mentioned contains an attempt to describe the sounds of Korana, as embodied in the original printed copy of Wuras' Catechism (op. cit. p. 5-7), and also a rendering into Nama and German (op. cit. p. 7-21). I do not propose therefore to give an English translation or to do Vedder's work over again. I merely intend to study here some of the phonological problems presented by the orthography of the Ms., to elucidate, as far as possible, some of its morphological problems, and finally to examine some of its most important variants, and some of the Ms. corrections of Wuras on his facsimile copy.

As we shall have occasion to refer occasionally to a later work of Wuras, his *Vocabulary of the Korana language*, a few words about it will not be amiss here. It was reviewed by the author from an older copy and was still in process of reconstruction in November 1858, as will be gathered from the following still unpublished letter :

Bethany, Novbr, 11th, 1858.

My dear Sir,

According to His Excellency's request, I send you a sketch of a Bushman grammar, which I have compiled. In a short time I hope to send you a copy of a Vocabulary of the Korana language which I have promised His Excellency.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

J. Burnet, Esqre
Aliwal North

yours sincerely,
C. F. Wuras.

Mr. John Burnet⁽¹³⁾ was at that time the Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of the division of Aliwal North on the Orange River, then a frontier town. He had been placed there by Sir G. Grey and he acted as intermediary in forwarding the correspondence between the mission at Bethany and Government House, Cape Town.

When Sir G. Grey left South Africa to become Governor of New Zealand, this Ms. together with those of the letter quoted above, of the Bushman grammar, and the text of the Korana customs⁽¹⁴⁾ followed him to Auckland. There they remained until 1923, when the Trustees of the South African Public Library arranged for their transfer to Cape Town. W. Bourquin had, in the interval, (1920), published the Vocabulary as the 1st Beiheft of the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*. He never had a chance of seeing the original Ms. and worked on a copy made by a transcriber who knew no Hottentot. Hence many misreadings,—a great number of them recognised by Bourquin. All my references are to the original Ms. which are designated by *Ms. Voc.*

Reference will also be made to :

(i) "The Hottentot Grammar in the Korana dialect" by Wuras in Appleyard's "*The Kafir Language*" (quoted as Appleyard);

(ii) Engelbrecht—J. A. "*Studies oor Korannataal*," Kaapstad, (1928), where the more recent data are recorded (1926-7), quoted as Engelbrecht;

(iii) Meinhof—C. "*Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*," Berlin (1909), quoted as Meinhof;

(13) *Almanac of the Cape of Good Hope* (1858) p. 214.

(14) *Bantu Studies*—Vol. iii (1929), p. 287-296.

(iv) Kroenlein—J. G. "*Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoi*"; Berlin (1889), quoted as Kr. or under Nama.

Note : References for each word quoted in the linguistic part will be found in the Vocabulary at the end.

A. PHONOLOGY

1. VOWELS

(a). Long Vowels.

aa, of the printed copy remains in *saats*, "thou"; *taaib*, "what"; *kaab*, "wisdom"; but is simplified into *a* in: *oam*, "son"; *-hamb*, (<*hã*, "to be"+*b*); *hankje*, (<*hã*+*n*+*kje*); *'hoam*, "news"; where *a* is not long. Hence a necessary correction.

ee, of the printed copy remains throughout in the Ms. The only exception is the word for "redeem," "save," spelt with *ee*, *oreeb* (twice), but *oreb*, (three times). The same hesitation is in the Ms. Voc. where all the *e*'s are short, except in "redeemer," *orēba*.

oo, of the printed copy remains throughout in the Ms. except in *hamko* (twice).

(b). *oe*, of the printed copy is the Dutch orthography for *u* and this last letter is substituted throughout in the Ms. There is, however, some hesitation for the word "life," written *•kueem*, (twice); but *•koeemba* (once) (cp. *•kueessan*). The right spelling is given in the Ms. Voc. °*Oēm*. Wuras was evidently misled by the *oe* of the printed copy, which does not here, however, stand for *u*.

(c). Nasal vowels are indicated in the Ms. by :

(i) the tilde~ (this is not found in the printed copy): *ṛũn*, "to eat." (Ms. Voc. ṛũ); *ḱũaga*, "to descend" (Ms. Voc. ḱũacha); *thũ*, "to suffer" (Ms. Voc. *thũ*, "pain").

(ii) *-ng* (also in the printed copy): *•kannung*, "worthy" (Ms. Voc. *•annũm*, *•annũsa*); *'hannung*, "right" (Ms. Voc. *ṛhannũ*).

- (iii) *n* (also in the printed copy): \neg *annun*, "holy" (Ms. Voc. \neg *annũ*).
- (iv) *-m* (also in the printed copy); *iim*, "father"; *oam*, "son"; (Ms. Voc. *oãm*); **kciim*, "resurrection"; **kueem*, (see under b); \neg *annum* (see under iii); \neg *eim*, "he"; \neg *oam*, "arm" (Ms. Voc. \neg *uãm*); *'hoam*, "news" (Ms. Voc. \neg *hoãm*).
- (v) *-mb* (also in the printed copy): *-hamb* (see under a) **kueemb* "life"; \neg *eimb*, "he"; \neg *hannumb*, "justice" (Ms. Voc. \neg *hannũb*); *'hoamb*, (see under iv).

In (iv) and (v) the *m* is a glide sound developing between the nasal vowel and the *-b* suffix (cp. Engelbrecht p. 7: "Die suff. mask. sing. is *-b*, na 'n genesaleerde vokaal klink dit soos *-m*").

- (vi) The nasal is not indicated in *oae*, "to be born" (Ms. Voc. *oãeb* "birth"); *mi*, "to say" (Ms. Voc. *mĩm*, "word"); *si*, "to send" (Ms. Voc. *sĩ*); *sisin*, "to work" (Ms. Voc. *sisĩn*); \neg *ei*, "to possess" (Ms. Voc. \neg *eiĩ*); \neg *nau*, "to hear" (Ms. Voc. \neg *nãu*).

2. CONSONANTS

(a) Labials.

- (i) *-p* instead of *-b* (also in the printed copy) only in proper names: *Christip*; *Jesip*; *Joannip*; *Pontip Pilatip*.
- (ii) *-b-* inter vocalic=bilabial *fricative*. In the Ms. this is indicated by the symbol *-w-*: \neg *gawa*; \neg *gaweeb* (two new words in the Ms. not appearing in the printed copy); *nochuwva* (also in the printed copy with *-w-*). *b* which becomes inter-vocalic through suffixing remains *b* in the Ms. Thus *oreeba* > *oree* "to set free." Among the corrections of Wuras on his facsimile copy, we have for "why" *tachoewa*, *w* erased and *b* written over, in two places. The *b* is retained in this word in the Ms. according to the suffixing rule. A third *tachoewa* of the printed copy has disappeared from the Ms. This is a good example of Waras' efforts to secure greater uniformity in the Ms.

(b). *Dentals.*

(i) Confusion of *t* and *d*, the latter being often devoiced in Korana as well as in Nama (cp. Meinhof 36); *ti* . . . *tika*, “both and”; *ti* . . . *na* and *di* . . . *dika* (once) and *ti* . . . *dika*; *-dee* (fem. plur. suffix) also spelt *-tee* in Appleyard; *di* “to do” and *tieb* “deed” (Ms. Voc. *dib*); *di* genitive particle, of the printed copy equivalent to *ti* in the Ms.

(ii) *t*, *th* (aspirated *t*) and *ts*=Nama *ts* (cp. Engelbrecht, p. 7).

The facts in the Ms. concerning these sounds are set out in the following table where comparisons are also made with words from elsewhere :

English	Ms. Catechism	Ms. Vocabulary	Engelbrecht	Nama
1. { “pain” (n)	—	<i>thūb</i>	<i>thūb</i>	<i>tsūb</i>
{ — (v)	<i>thū</i>	<i>thū</i>	—	—
2. “and”	<i>ti, di</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>thi</i>	<i>tsi</i>
3. “to feel”	—	<i>thā</i>	<i>thā</i>	<i>tsā</i>
4. “ashes”	—	<i>taub</i>	<i>thaob</i>	<i>tsaob</i>
5. “God”	<i>Cyꞑkoab</i>	<i>Thuy ꞑgoab</i>	<i>tsū-xgoab</i>	<i>tsūi-//goab</i>
6. “day”	<i>ceeb</i>	<i>cēb, tsēb</i>	<i>tsēh</i>	<i>tsēb</i>
7. “midday”	—	<i>thee ꞑna</i>	<i>thē-qnab</i>	<i>tsē-!na</i>
8. “today”	—	<i>hee-cēb</i>	<i>hē-tsēb</i>	<i>tsēb</i>

Two points claim our attention here, the pronunciation of the Korana word for “God” and the phonetic value of the *c* symbol, —two questions so closely related to each other, that they may be treated as one. The *c* symbol is found in the Ms. only in two words, *ceeb* and *Cyꞑkoab*. In his Korana grammar published by Appleyard (1850), Wuras tells us (p. 18), that “*c* is pronounced as *tsh*” (*tf*). We can therefore conclude that the *c* in both *ceeb* and *Cyꞑkoab* was thus heard by him up to 1857. But the Ms. vocabulary has *thuyꞑgoab* and this *th* sound, we have seen, is one of those that corresponds to *ts*. It is not an unwarranted assumption that Wuras must also have heard

the variant pronunciation preserved in the Vocabulary, where it is definitely stated (p. 2) that the *th* is a "soft aspirate" and where the first element of the word is also given under "wound" as : n. *thuyb* and v. *thuyko*, and where, moreover, we have the word "God" in composition in such words as *thuy*∩*goa* o, "ungodly"; *thuy*∩*goa* o*sa*, "wicked"; *thuy*∩*goa* o*sab*, "wickedness"; *thuy*∩*goab* *sisinab*, "worship." The word also existed as *thuickwe* in the Cape Hottentot dialect and is still perpetuated as *utixo* in Xosa. Further, *th* and *ts* are phonetically very close.

As for *ceeb*, we have the same variations. Under "day" Wuras gives us *tsēb* or *cēb* in the Vocabulary. But he has also, as can be seen from the list, *thee*∩*na* (<*thee*, "day," ∩*na* "in") for "today"—a phonetic pair parallel to *Cy*∩*koab* and *thuy*∩*goab*.

One more point of interest. In the original printed copy, while "God" is always *Cy*∩*koab*, *ceeb* is written *i'eeb* (five times), *i'eeb* (once), and *ieeb* (once). Vedder (op. cit. p. 11, note 2) remarks thereon: *tsēb*, ("Tag" Nama) schreibt Wuras verschieden . . . S. dazu das Vocabular der Korana Sprache . . . "day," *tsēb* or *cēb*, woraus hervorgeht, dass das Korana Wort durchaus dem Nama—Wort *tsēb* "Tag" entspricht, und nur die Unsicherheit in der Lautfixierung einen scheinbaren Unterschied konstruiert. Rätselhaft bleibt aber, wie statt das Anlautes *ts* ein *i* gehört werden konnte." I think a solution of the enigma (Rätsel), which puzzles Vedder can be offered. 'Wuras' handwriting has a peculiarity—not unknown in current German script—in respect of *c*, which in his Ms. ends in a flourish. An example of this can be seen in the photograph of the specimen page of the Ms. reproduced in this study, line 15, first word, which by an untutored Englishman might easily be mistaken for *i'eeb* or *i'eeb*. This explanation is confirmed from a quite independent source. The New Zealand transcriber of the Korana vocabulary has under the word Alive —°*Oēiebe* (with an *i*, Bourquin p. 9). On consulting the Ms. vocabulary, however, the reading *Oēēiebe* (i.e., *é* with a flourish) is quite clear (cp. Engelbrecht, *χōesibe*, "lewendig.") It is gratifying to have an opportunity of clearing Wuras from the misdeeds of the printer.

(c) *Velars*.

- (i) *k*, in the printed copy and in the Ms. stands for both *k* and *g* which, as in the case of the *t* and *d*, are confused phonetically

and for the same reason : -*kje* a very widespread verbal particle in the Ms. heard as *gye* by other Korana scholars. Also in *kurru*, "to create" (Ms. Voc. *kurru*; Engel. *guru-χosab* "smid"; N. *guru*, "schaffen"); *kei kei*, "to magnify" (Ms. Voc. *kei kei*; Engel. *gai gai* "groot maak"); *kau*, "to rule" (Ms. Voc. *gaob* "law"); *kaub*, "wisdom" (Ms. Voc. *gāb*.)

k=kh (aspirate *k*) in *-ka* (the daul suffix in *dika*); *kaub*, "sorrow" (once; also spelt *khaub* once; Ms. Voc. *khaub*); *kamma*, "like, as" (Ms. Voc. *kamma*, N. *khama*); *kueeb*, "man" (Ms. Voc. *khoēb*); *kueena*, "man" (Ms. Voc. *khoēna*).

- (ii) *g* is the symbol used both in the printed copy and the Ms. for the velar fricative *x*. In the Ms. Vocabulary (p. 2.) it is written *ch* and equated with "the Dutch *g*." *ga*; *gu*, "from"; *oageis*, "virgin" (Ms. Voc. *oacheis*); *goa*, "to write" (Ms. Voc. *choa*) \hookrightarrow *kuāga*, "to descend" (Ms. Voc. \hookleftarrow *koācha*); *gubgukua*, "thing, things" (Ms. Voc. *chub*).

With reference to *k* and *g* used in conjunction with clicks, see under clicks. But in *tachuba* and *nochuwa*, the *ch*=(*x*), is preserved.

- (iii) *The ejective velar affricate kx?*. This sound combination exists in a great number of Bushman dialects. It has been recorded for the Cape dialects by Bleek who describes it as a "strong croaking sound in the throat"; by both Vedder and Doke ("The phonetics of the Zulu language," p. 293-295), for the !kung dialect, etc., but it has not been noticed for the dialect of the Tati Masarwa by Dornan. This phonetic feature is also shared, in common with those Bushman dialects, by Korana. Wuras, both in his earlier grammar and in his last work, the vocabulary, distinguishes two varieties which he describes thus :

Grammar (1850): "*kh* is a deeper sound" (than the German *ch*) ; "*x* is still deeper and very harsh."

Vocabulary (1858): "higher windpipe guttural, sounding short." ; "the deep windpipe guttural, sounding long."

In both the printed copy of the Catechism and the Ms., only one symbol is used : •, either by itself or in conjunction with *k*.

The following comparative table is of interest :

English	Ms. Catechism	Ms. Vocabulary	Engel.	Nama
1. "true"	{ •ama •ei •kama •kei	°ammase	$\bar{\chi}$ amase	ama-ei
2. "right"	•amm			am
3. "man"	{ •aub •auna (pl).	•aub	χ aob	aob
4. "on," "at"	•ei	•ei	—	ei
5. "the earth"	∩hub •eib	∩hub ∩eib	qhüb $\bar{\chi}$ aib	!hub eib
6. "first"	•eisse	•eissi	(toa-toa)	ei
7. "new"	{ •ora •kora	•ora	{ $\bar{\chi}$ orasa "rou"	ora "neu," .. unreif, "roh" (Vedder).
8. "worthy"	•kannung	•annün	—	anu
9. "for"	•kamma	—	—	ama (V)
10. "life"	•koemb	•oem	$\bar{\chi}$ öeb	üib
11. "alive"	•kuessan	•oecēbe	$\bar{\chi}$ oe-sibe	—
12. "to seek"	•koa	•oa	$\bar{\chi}$ oa	oã
13. { "to rise" "resurrection"	{ •kei •keim	kheĩ	khāi	khāi
14. { "to bind together"	{ ∩kei •aresina	{ ∩kei ∩aresina "to league"	—	≠gai- are

A few comments are necessary :

- (i) No distinction seems to be made in the Catechism between the two varieties, as in the vocabulary ; indeed, in Nos. 1 and 7, •*k* or • is written indifferently.

- (ii) No. 13 of the Catechism has the sound which corresponds to a *k* aspirate elsewhere. It must, however, be observed that *kh* and *kx?* are closely related.
- (iii) Nos. 5 and 14 have the ejective velar affricate of the Catechism corresponding to a click *kx?* of the vocabulary, but in the case of No. 5, the word as recorded by Engelbrecht and also as existing in Nama, agrees with the absence of click in the Catechism, the reverse being the case for No. 14, in so far as the Nama word is concerned.

Vedder's statements and queries (op. cit. p. 5.... "Gab es in der Korana Sprache gepressten Stimmeinsatz?.....," etc.) shew that he did not possess the full solution of the problem, as outlined above.

(d). *Clicks.*

During the course of his Korana work, Wuras changed his scheme of click symbols more than once, and we can recognise three substantial stages in these transformations :

- (i) In 1841, in the printed copy of the Catechism, a system of apostrophes above the line.* Vedder (op. cit. p. 5) gives the following equations: ' stands for /, the dental click; ' for //, the lateral click; and ' for the alveolar ≠ or the palato-alveolar !. This is, however, merely an approximation, as Vedder himself recognises. A comparison of the clicks in the printed copy with those of the Ms. Catechism gives results which reveal the hopelessness of the task: **

* This system was perhaps, after all, not Wuras', for Giddy writes in the letter already quoted: "I have endeavoured to mark them (the clicks) by arbitrary characters, such as, commas, apostrophes, inverted commas etc., inserted where the clicks occur; and I hope the Catechism will thus be understood." But the evidence is not quite conclusive, as Wuras is nowhere mentioned in the letter.

** The figures in brackets denote the number of times the word is used with the first column click in the printed copy. The figures in the last column denote the total number of times.

”	=Λ, (/), <i>am</i> (1); <i>amm</i> (1); Λ <i>amo</i> (1); Λ <i>ammo</i> (2); Λ <i>anna</i> (2); Λ <i>an</i> Λ <i>an</i> (4); Λ <i>garra</i> Λ <i>garra</i> (1); Λ <i>goa</i> (1).	13
	=γ, (≠), γ <i>ko</i> (1); γ <i>kei</i> (1).	2
	=∩, (!), ∩ <i>neisa</i> (1).	1
‘	=□, (/), □ <i>eim</i> (7); □ <i>oob</i> (8); □ <i>kau</i> □ <i>naam</i> (1); □ <i>ga</i> □ <i>gasin</i> (3); □ <i>na</i> (1); □ <i>nau</i> (1); □ <i>nadaha</i> (1); □ <i>natiba</i> (1); Cy□ <i>koab</i> (1).	24
	=∩, ∩ <i>annun</i> (1); ∩ <i>gub</i> (2); ∩ <i>na</i> (5); ∩ <i>na</i> ∩ <i>na</i> (1) '(indeterminate) 'kam (1); 'kum (1).	9 2
,	=Λ, Λ <i>au</i> Λ <i>amme</i> (2); Λ <i>kaudana</i> (1); Λ <i>keida</i> (?) (1); Λ <i>goa</i> (1); Λ <i>keisa</i> (1)	6?
	=□, □ <i>eib</i> (1); □ <i>eiha</i> (1); □ <i>eibaha</i> (1); Cy□ <i>koab</i> (31); □ <i>gawa</i> (1)	35
	=∩, ∩ <i>a</i> (2); bi∩ <i>am</i> (1); ∩ <i>annun</i> (1); ∩ <i>annun</i> ∩ <i>annun</i> (1); ∩ <i>oa</i> (2); ∩ <i>oam</i> (1); ∩ <i>heib</i> ∙ <i>eib</i> (3); ∩ <i>hoam</i> (1); ∩ <i>geib</i> (1); ∩ <i>go</i> ∩ <i>oa</i> (1); ∩ <i>gub</i> (2); ∩ <i>kaue</i> (1); ∩ <i>kan-</i> <i>nim</i> (2); ∩ <i>kurru</i> (1); ∩ <i>na</i> (1); ∩ <i>nam</i> (1); ∩ <i>nanni</i> (1); ∩ <i>naue</i> (1); ∩ <i>nonna</i> (4).	28
	=γ, γ <i>uñ</i> (3); γ <i>noaku</i> (1); γ <i>kei</i> (2); γ <i>kora</i> (1); γ <i>kui</i> (1); γ <i>kuree</i> (1);	9
	=', 'annun (2); 'hannung (1); 'hoam (2); 'humi (2); 'kam (1); 'kannim (1); 'Cy 'koab (1); 'kei (2); 'keie 'kaue (2); 'kui (6); 'knm (5); 'kurru (1);	26

Add to the list half a dozen click-words deprived of their clicks in the printed copy: *Cy koab*, *kannim*, etc.; ∙ (=kx?) for clicks in *oob* used seven times with the □click; ∙*eim* (three times) for □*eim* used seven times with click, and the series 'eimkje, 'eimkje, ∙eimkje and 'eimkje used each one in four consecutive lines. This last example of inconsistency is irrefutable evidence of the laxity of the printer, and we can sympathise with Wuras' contempt for the printed copy.

- (ii) In 1850 appeared Appleyard's volume containing Wuras' Korana Grammar, the Ms. of which is also referred to in the

1857 letter, as having been destroyed at the same time as the printed copies of the Catechism. It is highly probable that Appleyard obtained this Ms. between the date of the printed copy of the Catechism and 1848, as he printed in his *Kafir Language* (p. 14) the Apostle's Creed of the Catechism with the same clicks as those described in (i) above. But in any case the grammar uses a different set of click symbols: "The clicks are *q*, *y*, *v* and *f*. *Q* correspond to the Kafir *q*; and *y* to the Kafir *x*; *v* and *f* are different modifications of the Kafir *c*." (Appleyard p. 18. i. 3). That is, *q*=!; *y*=// and *v* and *f*=/ or modifications, probably ≠.

- (iii) From 1857 on, an entirely new scheme is met with: \wedge =/; \neg =≠; \sqcap =// and \cap =! in the letter to Sir George Grey, and in the Ms. Catechism. These are doubled in the Vocabulary (1858) \wedge , \vee ; \neg , \neg ; \sqcap , \sqcup ; \cap , \cup . The value of these symbols we know from their description in the Vocabulary (Ms. p. 1 and 2), and after making a careful comparison of the click-words of these two texts with modern Korana and with Nama, we realise how accurate were, with a very few trifling exceptions, Wuras' hearing and notation.

In the Ms. Catechism these discrepancies can be sorted out as follows:

- (a) Where the click is the wrong one, as compared with the Ms. Vocabulary or Engelbrecht or Nama, but where the confusion has arisen with some homophonous or synonymous word:

\cap oam, "arm" (Ms. Voc. \sqcap uam probably confused with \cap umma "hand.") In idiomatic Korana "arm" is used for "hand" and the expression "left hand" and "right hand" cp. our text l. 82 and Ms. Voc. \sqcap arre \sqcup oam "left hand." Hence probably the confusion;

\cap hannumb "justice" (Ms. Voc. \neg hanub) and \cap annüb "purity";

\neg gei' "to bless" (Ms. Voc. \wedge chei) and \neg geib "place";

\neg küaga "to descend" (Ms. Voc. \sqcup kōacha) and \cap kū "to go," "to walk," \cap kū \sqcap oacha "to arrive"; Engelbrecht *qgũ-qoagu* "ontmoet," an easy confusion where so many synonymous and homophonous terms exist;

∩*neisa* "old" (Ms. Voc. 7*neisa*, Engelbrecht ; *cnaisa* ; *Nama. /neisa*) and

◌*ureeb* "sin" (Ms. Voc. 7*orrēb* ; *Nama* : //◌*oreb*).

These last two errors remain unexplained.

(b) In a matter of 10 words, Wuras uses an indistinct symbol which varies from ∩ to '. I shall use here, and in the transcription of the text, an apostrophe to denote this uncertain click. These are the words :

1. '*hannung* "true" (Ms. Voc. 7*hannū* ; *Nama* : ≠*hanu*).
2. '*hoam* "news" (Ms. Voc. 7*hoām* ; Engel. *ḥhōāb* ; *Nama* : ≠*hōas*).
3. '*humi* "heaven" (Ms. Voc. 7*humma* ; Engel. *chumi* ; *Nama* : /*homī*).
4. '*kannim* "book" (Ms. Voc. 7*kannim* ; Engel. *ḥkanis* ; *Nama* : ≠*kanis*).
5. '*kum* "to believe" (Ms. Voc. 7*kumm* ; Engel. *ḥgum* ; *Nama* : ≠*gom*).
6. '*kei* "to draw" (Ms. Voc. 7*kei* ; *Nama* : ≠*gai*).
7. '*kui* "one" (Ms. Voc. 7*kui* ; Engel. *cgui* ; *Nama* : /*gui*).
8. '*kam* "two" (Ms. Voc. √*kam* ; Engel. *cgam* ; *Nama* : /*gam*).
9. '*kui* "to sacrifice" (Ms. Voc. ∟*kuyb* ; Engel. *xgoe* "lē" ; *Nama* : //◌*gui* "niederlegen").
10. '*kaie* '*kaue* "glad" (Ms. Voc. ∩*kaīcha* 7*kau*).

This list might perhaps be reduced by two, as '*kei* and '*kui* are respectively written 7*kei* once and 7*kui* twice ('*kei* occurs only once and '*kui* 4 times). This possibility is enhanced by the fact that ∩*geisa* ∩*ums* which occurs 9 times, is spelt 4 times with a clear ∩, once with a doubtful click and 4 times with a sign approaching ∩ ; and 7*nosab* appears as 7*nosab* once and once again with a click very much like '. In fact, in forming 7 the pen has a tendency to round off the sharp point and produce something like ∩, if the writing is done at all quickly. And, further, the clicks of the 1st 7 words in this list correspond to 7 in the Ms. Vocabulary and the 8th to √ (the dental click which is very close in point of formation and in sound to 7).

Can it be that these clicks in the Ms. were malformations due to hasty writing, and should we then restore, in each case, the correct ɾ? Or, are they due to sheer uncertainty? This seems a strange question, in view of the evidence we possess of Wuras' fluency. But, since 1846, the Korana element in Bethany had been steadily diminishing, and, in 1852, we find only 80 Koranas as against 179 Bechuanas, a practically unknown element before 1846, and in 1850, Wuras, with his accustomed readiness, is already learning Bechuana (see *Berliner Missions Berichte*, Nos. 11 and 12. November-December, 1852, p. 211; and August, 1850, p. 155). Although services were still conducted in Korana, it is certain that Korana was less current at Bethany in 1857 when he revised his Catechism for Sir George Grey, and he may have been slightly out of practice. But he could surely have recovered from his hesitations, if such they are, and put in the correct clicks, as there were still Korana people about. On the whole, the first hypothesis, that of the hasty writing, may be correct, as he may have been pressed for time by Sir George Grey.

Clicks used in conjunction with *k* and *g* and ʔx?

There is no example of a voiced click in the Catechism; the *g* used after a click has the value of the Dutch *g*, i.e. the velar fricative. But when a *k* follows a click it regularly corresponds to *g* in Engel. and Nama.

There are a few examples of the ejective velar affricate in combination with a click, ɿeib, ʔoassin, ɿkona, ʔureeb.

B. MORPHOLOGY

References to single words, in this section will, as before, be found in the Vocabulary. When sentences or fragments of sentences are quoted, the reference to the line of the text will be given.

1. *The Noun—The Suffixes.*

- (a) (i) -b, masculine sing. suffix (Appleyard 18, iii):
 brieb, "happiness"; Evangelioob; ib, "image"; oreebab, "deliverance"; ceeb, "day"; Cyɿkoab, "God"; heib, "tree"; gub, "thing"; kaab, "wisdom"; khaub (kaub), "sorrow"; kueeb, "man"; tieb, "fact"; ʔaub, "man"; ʔhaub, "church"; ɿnosab, "king"; ɿoob, "death"; ɿeib, "time"; ʔhub, ʔeib, "earth"; ʔgaweeb, "punishment"; ʔgeib, "place"; ʔgub, "lord, person"; ʔureeb, "sin"; ʔkuib, "reunion."

- (ii) *-p* : only in, proper names : *Christip*, *Jesip*, *Joannip*, *Pontip Pilatip*.
- (iii) *-m* : *iim*, "father"; *oam*, "son"; *ᳵkauᳵnaam*, "devil"; *•keim*, "resurrection"; *•kueem*, "life"; *biᳵam*, "head"; *ᳵoam*, "arm"; *'hoam*, "news"; *'kannim*, "book."
- (iv) *-mb* : *•kueemb*, "life"; *ᳵhannumb*, "righteousness"; *'hoamb*, "news."
- (v) *-mi* : *Adami*; *ᳵnami*, "side"; *'humi*, "heaven."
- (vi) *-ba* : *Evangelioopba*; *Cyᳵkoaba*, "God"; *•koeemba*, "life"; *'kuiba*, "sacrifice."

This suffix is sometimes found detached in spelling from its noun, e.g., *Christip ba*, *Cyᳵkoab ba*, *Jesip ba*. For its function, see Syntax.

- (vii) *-bee* : This is found dissociated from its noun : *ceeb bee*; *Cyᳵkoab bee*; *ᳵureeb bee*. It is also spelt *be* (*bi*) when followed by *-see* (adverbial suffix); *Propheet besee*, *Hogepristip besee*, *ᳵnosab besee*; *Cyᳵkoab bisee*. For its function, see Syntax.

- (viii) *-a* : *sisina*, "work"; *ᳵanna*, "knowledge"; *ᳵkei•aresina*, "volume"; *'kuma*, "faith"; *ᳵkona*, "name."

(b) Feminine sing. suffix. (Appleyard 18. iii. 1).

- (i) *-s* : *oageis*, "virgin"; *ᳵums*, "spirit," "soul."
- (ii) *-sa* : This is also found dissociated from the noun : *Maria sa*; *ᳵgeisa ᳵums sa*, "Holy Ghost." For its function, see Syntax.

(c) Masculine plur. suffix. (Appleyard 18. ii. 2).

-kua : (*-ku*) : *gukua*, "things"; *ᳵgukua*, "persons"; *ᳵureku*, "sins."

(d) Feminine plur. suffix. (Appleyard 18. iii. 2).

-dee : *ᳵadee*, "parts."

(e) Common plur. suffix. (Appleyard 18. iii. 2).

-na (*-n*) : *kueen*, *kueena*, "man in general," "people"; *•auna*, "man"; *•kueessan*, "the living"; *ᳵoosa...na*, "the dead"; *'kumsana*, "believers."

(f) *-ti*, the genetival particle, see Syntax.

2. *The Adjective.*

- (a) *-sa*, the suffix-forming adjective from verbal roots : *•kuessan* ; *•keisa*, "mighty" : *∧geisa*, "holy" ; *∩oosa*, "dead" ; *∩neisa*, "old."
- (b) Various : *•ama •ei*, *•kama •kei*, "true" ; *•amma*, "right" ; *•ora*, "new" ; *∧am*, *∧amm*, *∧amo*, "eternal" ; *∩annum*, "holy," "saint" ; *'hannung*, "true" ; *'keie 'kaue* "glad."

See Word-Composition.

- (c) Numerals : (i) Cardinals : 1. *'kui* ; 2. *'kam* ; 3. *∩nona*.
 (ii) Ordinals . 1st. *•eise* ; 2nd. *'kam ∩eim* ;
 3rd. *∩nona ∩eim* ; 6th. *∩nanni ∩eim*.

3. *The Pronouns.*

- (a) Personal (Appleyard, 19-20. vi).

	(i) Subject		Plur. Fem. Plur. common.	
	Full forms.	Short forms.	Short forms.	Short forms.
1.	—	<i>-r-</i>	—	<i>ida, -da-</i>
2.	<i>saats</i>	<i>-its-</i>	—	—
3.	<i>∩eim</i>	<i>-ib-, -b-</i>	<i>-dee-</i>	<i>-in-, -n-</i>

In the short forms with *i-*, the sound is slurred. In Nama, according to Vedder, these *i-* forms are archaic (p. 7, note 5). The short forms are nearly always infixed in the verb ; for details, see under The Verb.

- (ii) Object. 2nd. Masc. sing. *saats* ; 3rd. Masc. sing. *∩eim* ;
 3rd. Plur. com : *∩eina*.
- (b) Possessive. 3rd. Masc. sing. *∩eim* ; *∩eimti* (where *ti* is the genitive particle). 1st. Com. plur. (excl.) ; *sida* ; (incl.) : *sada*.
- (c) Reflexive. (Appleyard. 21. ix)
-sin- : *∩eisin •eibkje*, "he himself." For *-sin-* infixed, see The Verb.
- (d) Demonstrative. (Appleyard. 20-21. viii).
hee, "this" ; *∩na*, "that."
- (e) Interrogative. (Appleyard. 21. ix).
ham, hame, "what ?" ; *hamti*, "how ?" ; *hamko*, "how many ?" ;
hamgubgu (<*ham*+*gub*, "thing" ; +*gu*, "out of") ; "why ?"

taaib, "what?" *taaiba* "what?" *taaibgu* (<*taaib*+*gu*), "from what?" *tachuba*, *tachub* (<*tae*+*chub*, "thing"), "why?"

tana, *tunta*. See under The Verb; and for *tanta*=*tana*, see variants on p. 4 of the Ms. l. 72.

(f) Relative. See under Syntax—Relative Clauses.

(g) Indefinite: Sing: *hoa*; plur: *hoan*, "all."

4. The Verb.

(a) *ha*, "to be." In the Ms. Voc. *ha* (middle tone) "to be" is carefully distinguished from *ha* (low tone), "to remain" (fos Nama cp. Meinhof 80 § 65. 1). This verb is treated here separately, as also *-i* below, as it is sometimes exempt from the tense particle of the ordinary verb.

Present Indicative: 3rd. pers. sing. masc.

1. *Jesipkje* *ha*. 164 "Jesus is."
 2. *taaib ka kannung ha* 120 "What is fitting?"
- 1st. pers. com. plur.
- tachuba* *ida* *ha?* 1 "why are we here?"
- 3rd. pers. plur.
- hamko* \cap *gukua* *hakua?* 20 "how many persons are there?"

Past Indicative. 3rd. pers. masc. sing.

1. *hee* \cap *oob ka Adami* 'kuibgakje *ha* "was this death
ha. 70. for Adam only?"
2. *hoa kueengakje ka*. 71. "it was for all men."

Infinitive.

. . . . \cap *na brieb* \cap *na hatama ha*. 60, "not to remain in that happiness."

(b) *i*, "to be." (Appleyard 21. x and Meinhof 81 § 65. 2).

Present Indicative: 3rd. masc. plur. com.

inkje kueena Cy \cap *koab kamma i*. 53. "they the men are like God."

(with *ha*): *gukua nochuwa i tamaha*. "things that are not yet."

- (c) *-kje*, "to be." Nama *gye* (cp. Meinhof 53 § 17 and especially 81 § 65, 3.)

1. *heebkje* \wedge *amo* *•koeemba*. 5. "this is life eternal."

2. *heebkje* *•ama* *•ei* *Cy* \neg *koabba* 89. "this is the real God."

-kje is also used in conjunction with *ha* as a past tense particle, see Past tense below.

- (d) The Tenses. In Korana, as in Nama, tenses are formed by means of tense particles in combination with the Verb-root and Pronouns. There are 2 chief types in which these elements are combined in our text :

type A : full form of the pronoun + verb + tense particle ;

type B : verb + short form pronoun + tense particle.

Type B is the one given in the paradigms of the Korana grammar (Appleyard 23-24. xiv), as the normal one. Type A is fairly constant, but type B may offer variations such as :

(i) short form pronoun+verb+tense particle ; or

(ii) short form pronoun+tense particle+verb (with particle split, if composed of 2 elements). This last variation of type B is illustrated 3 times in the grammar :

1. *sa vnammi xei ir-na sisin*, "I work in your place." (25. xxi)

2. *kurrub ir-na knau vcheib*, "I hear that it thunders." (26. xxii).

3. *sida hana ida-na xoa*, "we seek our horses." (20. vii).

and with a noun subject and split tense particle :

4. *vkasi kueebkje haab fxa-ha*, "the poor man stole a horse." (23. xiii).

The following are found in the Catechism :

- (i) Present Indicative. The usual particle here in Korana is *-na* (cp. Engel. p. 42-45), as against Nama *ta* (*ra*) (cp. Meinhof 51 § 12-13).

The verb in the present tense is, however, found much more rarely with *-ha* :

1st. masc. sing. type B : *'kum-re-ha*, "I believe." 34. 75. 134.

3rd. masc. sing. (noun subject).

hamgubgu Jesipbee \neg *eimti* 'kumsana kauha ? 131. "with what does J. rule His faithful ?"

In *its-a* \neg *ũn o*, *its-a* \neg *oo*. 68-69, "if thou eatest thou diest," -*a* seems to be \leq *ha*, "to be."

With the regular -*na* particle.

3rd. masc. sing. type A :

1. \neg *eimkje* *keidana*. 2. \neg *eimkje* \neg *na* \neg *nadana*. 3. \neg *eimkje* \wedge *garra* \wedge *garra* \neg *kaudana*. 4. \neg *eimkje* \neg *annun* \neg *annundana*.

1st. com. plur. type B : ii.

1. *hamti* (*hamgubgu*) . . . *dana* . . . \neg *ga* \neg *gasin*. 9. 12. "how do we learn?"
2. *hamti* *dana* *mi* ? 36. 38. 42, "what do we say ?"

3rd. masc. type B :

1. . . . *Artikel* . . . *ham* \neg *gub* *ina* *mi* ? 25. 27. 30. "what person does the Article speak of ?"
2. *tana* *orebada*. 72. "who saves us?"
3. *tana* \wedge *geisa* \wedge *ums* *sie*. 140. "who sends the Holy Ghost ?"
4. *Cy* \neg *koab* 'hoam *dana* *ho* ? 150. "do we obtain God's message ?"
5. *hamtibna* . . . *Jesip* *diha* ? 128. "what does Jesus do ?"

No. 5 has the -*na* and the -*ha* particles combined, which is unusual. See Variants.

There is only 1 type A, 3rd. masc. sing.

1. . . . \wedge *geisa* \wedge *ums* *ka* *hamgubgu* *keidana* ? 147. "how does the H. G. call us ?"

(iii) Past Indicative. The usual particle here in the Korana grammar is -*kje* (*kje*, "to be" + *ha*, "to be.") (See Appleyard 23. xiv and Engel. p. 44), as against Nama *gye* and *go* (Meinhof 59, 28 and 56, 21).

3rd. masc. sing. type A (with split particle) :

1. \neg *eimkje* *kaudaha* ? 130. "how did He rule us ?"
See, however, Variants.
2. \neg *aisin* \neg *eibkje* *masinha*. 110. "He offered Himself."

3rd. masc. sing. type B (with noun subject):

1. *hamgukuakje kurruha Cykoab bee?* 44. "how many things did God create?"
2. *hamceeb bee Cykoabkje kueena kurruha?* 46. "on what day did God create man?"
3. *hamtibkje Cykoab kueena kurruha?* 48. "how did God create man?"
4. *ham haweeb Cykoabkje . . . teibaha?* 65. "what punishment did God threaten?"
5. *Cykoabkje . . . ibkje kueena kurruha.* 51. "God, He created man."

(With pronoun as subject):

1. *thū amme ibkjeke ha.* 2. *oobkjeha.* 3. **keibkjeha.*
4. *awabkjeha.* 5. *'kuibkjeha.* 6. *ṛkureebkjeha.* 7. *hgeibkjeha.*

(with pronoun as subject and split particle):

1. *ibkje diha.* 2. *ibkje an andaha.* 3. *ibkje nadaha.*
4. *bibkje maha.* 5. *ibkje 'kuisinha.* 6. *bibkje sisin o*
oassinbadaha. 7. *ibkje ṛūna (<ṛūn+ha).* In *ibkje hkuāga*,
 the *-ha* is left out.

3rd. com. plur. type B. (short form pronoun+verb+particle):

1. *taab inkje diha?* 60. "what did they do?"
2. *ham ureeb bee inkje diha;* 62. "what sin did they commit?"
3. *ureeb inkje diha.* 61. "they committed sin."
4. *heib ṛūnkjeha (<ṛūn+nkjeha).* 63. {
5. *heibkje ṛūnha.* 64. { "they ate (of) the tree."
6. *. . . ha ha inkje ha?* 58. "did they remain?"

(iv) Future Indicative. (In Korana, the future particle is *-ta* (Appleyard 22. x and 24 xiv; and Engel. p. 42). In Nama, the regular particle is *-ni*. In the Catechism, only 2 instances of the future are met with:

- 3rd masc. sing. *ibkje taṛgawaha.* 83. "He will return."
 (c.p. Engel. p. 42. no. 38. *xkaba ri ta ha*, "ek sal weer kom.")
- 3rd com. plur. *inta ṛnoaku o.* 66. "if they should quarrel,"

(e) Negative Forms. (Appleyard 22. xii).

The Ms. Voc. has under "Not, *ta*, *chu*, *tama*, and *tee* (*ta* is used for exhortation and request, *chu* for commanding, *tama* in general, and *tee* for the Futurum)." For *tama*, see under (b) Infinitive of this section. The usage of *chu* (=ms. *gu*, see Phonology, the Velars under *g*) is applied in one sentence of the Catechism: $\gamma\ddot{u}n$ *gu*. 63, "eat not," for which cp. Engel. (p. 42. no. 41) ζnau χu , "moenie slaan nie." In all these examples, *chu* (*gu*, χu) is no doubt the same as the verb *chu*, "to leave," "to quit" of the Ms. Voc. Thus, $\gamma\ddot{u}n$ *gu* properly is "eat leave (desist)." Cp. English "leave off eating" (where, however, eating has commenced).

(f) The Imperative. (Appleyard 24. xiv). This is the bare verb-root. Only 1 instance in the Catechism: $\neg na\ddot{u}$, "hark."

(g) Optative. (Appleyard 24. xiv). Cp. Meinhof 83 § 68.

- (i) 1st com. plur. *ada* 'kum *Jesip*. 122. "let us believe in J."
3rd plur. com. *saats ina* \wedge *anna*. 6. "let them know thee."

This is a difficult sentence to explain. The meaning is quite clear, as it is a translation of St. John 17. 3. "that they might know thee." Vedder has *ina* N. *en*, i.e. *e*, optative particle + *n*. 3rd. plur. com. pers. pro. The *-a* of *ina* and of \wedge *anna* remain unexplained, unless here *-a* is the optative particle postposed, which is very unusual.

- (ii) *-ka* is used to form a subjunctive expressing purpose: "in order that... should." In the grammar it is *ka a*: Future subjunctive: *i-r-ka a fnau*, "I should strike." (Appleyard 24. xiv; and also 22. xi. and 25. xix). Cp. Engel. (p. 11): "'n Optatief word gevorm met *gu*." In Nama it is *nī ga*. For examples in the Catechism, see Syntax Final Clause, where we shall regularly translate it by "in order to."

(h) Infinitive. (Appleyard 24. xiv).

- (i) The Korana grammar has, for the Infinitive, *fnaub*, "to strike." This *-b* form (verb-root + *b*) is indistinguishable from the noun in *b*. Thus, *ib*, "image" (< *i*, "to be like"); *hoob*, "the obtaining" (< *hoo*, "to obtain"), *mab*, "the giving" (< *ma*, "to give").
- (ii) The bare verb-root is used after another verb to correspond to our Infinitive: $\neg ga$ $\neg gasin$ $\wedge an$ $\wedge ansin$. 3. 10. 13. "to learn to know."
- (iii) For the use of the Infinitive of *ha* and *i*, see under these words.

- (i) The participle. *diamb, maba, siamb*. See under Syntax—Relative Clause.
- (j) The Passive. (Appleyard 24. xv) is formed by infixing the particle *-e-*. Nama has *he* (cp Meinhoff 69. § 46).
- (i) Present Indicative 3rd. feminine plur.
hamko \neg *a-dee ka* 'kannim *u* \neg *a-e-dee*? 153. "how many parts is the book divided into?"
- (ii) Past Indicative 3rd. masc. sing.
1. \neg *kau-e-bkjeha*, "He was crucified."
 2. \neg *nau-e-bkjeha*, "He was buried."
 3. *-kje* \wedge *au* \wedge *amm-e-ha*, "He was annointed."
- (iii) Subjunctive : *oreba-e-ka*. 121. "in order to be saved."
- (iv) Participle constructions : (i)
1. Present : \wedge *au* \wedge *amm-e-hamb*. 93; *goa-e hamb*. 150.
 2. Past : \neg *go* \neg *o-e-kjeha*, "conceived"; *oa-e-kjeha*, "was born."
- (k) Other Particles.
- (i) The Reflexive *-sin-* (Appleyard. 24. xvi). Also in Nama (Meinhof. 77 § 60). In the Catechism : *masinha* ; *sisin* ; \neg *ga* \neg *gasin* ; \wedge *an* \wedge *ansin* ; ' *kuibsinha* ; *o* \odot *oassinba* ; \neg *kei* \cdot *aresina*.
- (ii) The reciprocal *-ku-* (Appleyard 26. xvii), *gu* in Nama (Meinhof 77. § 61). In only 1 example in the Catechism : \neg *noaku*, "to quarrel."
- (iii) The Objective *-ba* (Appleyard 25. xxi) and also in Nama (Meinhof 64 § 36) : *oreba*, "to save," "to redeem" (< *ore*, "to free" + *ba*) ; \neg *eiba*, "to threaten" *o* \odot *oassin-ba*, "to choose," "to select."
- (iv) The interrogative *ka* placed after the noun (Appleyard. 21 ix. 1).
5. *The Adverb.*
- (i) Time : *nochuwa*, "yet" (?) ; \neg *gawa*, "still, again."
 - (ii) Place : \neg *naba*, "there."
 - (iii) Affirmation : *a*, "yes."

(iv) Negation : " *haa*, "no"; *tama*, "no."

(v) Manner : \neg *natiba*, "so."

6. The Conjunction.

(i) *ti* *tika*, *di* *dika*, "both and" (where *-ka* is the dual suffix. *ti* *tina*, (where *-na* is the plur. com. suffix); *i* "and."

(ii) At the end of the sentence : *o*, "if, as, because."

7. Post Positions.

ga, "concerning, about, of"; *gu*, "out of, from"; *see* (this is really the same as the adjectival and adverbial suffixes *-sa* and *-st* placed after the noun ending in *bi*), "like"; *kamma*, "like"; *•ei*, "on, at"; *•kamma*, "in return for"; \wedge *goa*, "with"; \neg *oa*, "against, to"; \neg *na*, "in."

C. WORD COMPOSITION

A great number of these phenomena have been treated under the different particles. I add a few more here :

(a) Noun+noun. The only instance found in the Catechism is with *•aub* as the second term : *oreba •aub*, "saviour"; *kurru •aub*, "creator"; \odot *uree •auna* (pl), "sinners." In *Brieb ti •aub*, lit : "happiness+make+man," i.e., "the Maker of happiness," *brieb* is the object of the verb *ti*, which is the same as *di*, "to make or do." For the change *t* and *d* cp. in our text *tieb*, "deed," as against *dib*, "fact" of the Ms. Voc. See Phonology, the dentals and see further under Variants. In all these examples *•aub* forms the agent as the English *-er*.

(b) Adjective+post position :

\wedge *ammo*, also improperly \wedge *am*, \wedge *amm*, "eternal" (\wedge *am*, "end" + *o* "without"; cp. Ms. Voc. \wedge *amo*, "eternal"; \wedge *am o* \wedge *eib*, "hell," lit : "fire without end"; \neg *cheib o*, "nowhere," etc.) *•ama •ei*, "true, real" cp. Nama *ama-ei* "wirklich, richtig."

(c) Reduplication of the verb-root forming causatives :

kei kei, "to magnify"; \neg *anum* \neg *anum*, "to sanctify"; \wedge *an* \wedge *an*, "to cause to know"; \neg *ga* \neg *ga*, "to learn"; \neg *na* \neg *na*, "to

enlighten"; $\wedge grra \wedge garra$, "to change," (see (d)). In *ha ha*, "to remain," it seems to be intensive.

(d) Juxtaposition of verd and verb :

$\gamma kei \cdot aresina$, "to bind" (cp. Nama $\neq gei + //are$, ziehen, vereinigen"); $\wedge garra \wedge garra \gamma kau$, "to console" (cp. Nama $/kara /kara$, "verändern"; + $\neq gao$, "wollen"); $o \odot oassin$, "to take out, to elect choose." See Vocabulary at the end.

D. SYNTAX

(a). *The Noun.*

The Masc. suffix *-ba* is commonly taken to denote the object. There is only one instance of this in our text :

hamti dana $\neg natiba$ *Jesip ba mi?* 118. "how do we call Jesus because of this?"

-ba is otherwise regularly used in our text in the sentence-types :
Noun (pronoun) + *kje* + noun + *ba* ; or with *hame* (or *taaiba*) + noun + *ba* :

1. *sida* $\neg gub$ *Cy* $\neg koabkje$ 'kui *Cy* $\neg koabba$ 17. "Our Lord is the only God."
2. *heebkje* $\wedge amo \cdot koeemba$. 5. "This is everlasting life."
3. *heebkje* $\cdot am \cdot ei$ *Cy* $\neg koabba i$ $\wedge ammo \cdot koeemb$. 88. "this is the true God and life everlasting." ($\cdot koeemb$ should be $\cdot koeemba$ here).
4. *hame evangeliopba?* 160. "what is the Gospel?"
5. *hame Jesip Christip ba?* 85. "who is J. C.?"
6. *hame 'keie 'kaue 'hoamba?* 162. "what are the glad tidings?"
7. *taaiba 'kuiba?* 107. "what sacrifice?"

- (ii) The suffix *-bee* (*be*, *bi*). It is used regularly before *-see*, "like, as, in the capacity of," e.g., *Prophet besee*, *Hogepristip besee*, *nosab besee*. 197. "as. P., as H. P., as King."

In a number of cases it is attached to the subject :

1. *J. C.* $\neg nami \cdot ei iim bi o$. 40. See under Variants. 1.
2. *hamgukuakje kurruha Cy* $\neg koab bee?$ "how many things did God create?"

- 3 *hamgubgu Jesip bee . . . kauha?* 131. "with what (thing) does J. rule?"
4. *Jesip bee taaib besebkje \wedge au \wedge ammeha?* 96. "J. in what capacity was He annointed?"
5. *Jesip bee taaib bibkje sisin o \odot oassin badaha?* 113. "J. what did He elect to do for us?"

In Nos. 4 and 5. the noun subject is subsequently taken up by a pronoun. cp. the French *Jésus, qu'a-t-il fait?*

It is attached to the object in :

ham \odot ureeb bee inkje di ha? 62. "what sin did they commit?"

It seems to denote a temporal relation in :

ham ceeb bee Cy \neg koabkje kurruha? 46. "on what day did God create . . .?"

(iii) The *-a* suffix is used identically with the *-ba* suffix.

1. *taaib Jesip ti \neg kona?* 90. "what is J.'s name?"
2. *taaib ba Christip ti \cdot kona?* 92. "what is C.'s name?"
3. *hame 'kuma?* 123. "what is faith?"
4. *hame \wedge geisa \wedge ums ti sisina?* 142. "what is the H. G's. work?"

(iv) The type *hame* + noun + *sa* is found for the feminine :

hame \wedge geisa \wedge ums sa. 138. "who is the H. G.?" Cp. the Variant in the printed copy *hame Heilige Geest ba*, where H. G. is taken to be masculine.

(v) The suffixes *-ku*, *-kua*. A similar usage is found here too.

Attached to the subject :

1. *'hamko gukua . . . hakua?* 19. "how many persons are there . . .?"
2. *hamti 'on \neg gukua?* 22. "how are the persons named?"
3. *gukua nochuwa itama ha?* 102. "things that are not yet?"

Attached to the object :

Hamgukuakje . . . kurruha Cy \neg koab bee? 44. "how many things did God create?" *-ku* is attached to a noun followed by a postposition : *\odot ureekuga*, "from our sins."

(vi) The com. plur. suffix *-n* is used for the subject and *-na* for the object.

1. *kueenka . . . brieb ɾeiha?* 56. "did man possess happiness?"
2. *kueenka ɾna brieb ɿna ha hankje ha?* 58. "did man remain in that happiness?"
3. *Cy ɾkoabkje (ibkje) . . . kueena kurruha?* 46.48.50. "God (He) made man."
4. *Cy ɾkoabkje . . . kueena . . . ɾeibaha?* 65. "God threatened man?"

(vii) The genitive relationship is expressed (a) by means of the particle *-ti*: *Cy ɾkoab ti oam.* 74-75, 86; *Cy ɾkoab ti ɿamm ɿoam.* 82; *taaiba ʒesip ti ɾkona.* 90; *taiba ba Christip ti ɿkona* 92; *ɿanum hoanti Christen ti ɿhaub, ɿanum ti ʿkuiɿ, ɿureeb ti orebaab, ɾoob ti ɿkeim.* 135-137.

ɿgeisa ɿums ti sisina. 142. *bi ɿam ti gub.* 157.

(b) by means of mere juxtaposition: *Cy ɾkoab ʿhoam (-ba)* 149, 150.

(b). *The Pronoun.*

For the respective uses of the long and short forms and their position with regard to the verb, see Morphology: the Pronouns and the Verb.

(c). *The Clauses.*

(i) The Nominal Clause, i.e., where the copula is omitted:

1. *taaiba ʒesip ti ɾkona?* 90. "what is J's. name?"
2. *taaib ba Christip ti ɿkona?* 92. "what is C's. name?"
3. *taaiba ʿkuiɿa?* 107. "what is sacrifice?"
4. *hame ʒesip Christip ba?* 85. "who is J. C.?"
5. *hame ʿkuma?* 123. "what is faith?"
6. *hame ɿgeisa ɿums sa?* 138. "what is the H. G.?"
7. *hame ʿkei ʿkaue ʿhoamba?* 162. "what are the glad tidings?"

Nos. 4—7 are classified here with all reserve. According to Wuras' grammar, *e* is the interrogative particle used after pronouns: *ham e qeimba*, "who is he?" (Appleyard 21. ix. 2), but it might possibly be *i*, "to be"; hence the doubt.

(ii) The Relative Clause :

There is, in our text, no definite relative particle, as in Nama : *ia* and *hia*, (Cp. Meinhof 94 82). The usage of the Catechism is explained in Wuras' Korana grammar (Appleyard 21. ix. 2): "the place of the relative pronoun is supplied by the participle. Thus, instead of saying, *the man whom I love*, one must say *the man I loving* or *the man I loving him*." In the Catechism, the following are the sentences in which the rule of the grammar is applied, the participle being the form *-hamb* (<*hā*+*b*) and once *maba* (5) for which cp. Nama : *maba*. Part. Präs, "stehend, während."

1. 'kui ·kama ·kei Cy ꞑkoab di ꞑesip Christip dika, saats kje sihamb. 6-8. "the only true God and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent."
2. 'humi ti ꞑhub ·eib dikakje dihamb. 35. "Who made both heaven and earth."
3. ꞑau ꞑammekje hamb. 93. "He Who is annointed."
4. goae hamba. 151. ". . . . which is written."
5. ora ꞑkei ·aresina ꞑna maba. 157. "which stands in the New Testament."

In 2 cases, the relative relationship seems to be expressed loosely by mere juxtaposition of sentences :

1. gukua nochuwa itamaha ibkje ꞑnadaha. 102. "He told us of things which had not yet happened."
2. hamti i Cy ꞑkoab dana ꞑeim ꞑga ꞑgasin ꞑan ꞑansin . . . ? 12-13. "what is the God like, we learn to acknowledge Him ? i.e. Whom we learn to acknowledge."

(iii) The Conditional Clause :

This is expressed by using *o*, at the end of the sentence :

1. ham ꞑgaweeb Cy ꞑkoab kueena ꞑeibha kaub ꞑgoa, inta ꞑnoaku o, 65-66. "what punishment God threatened man with sorrowfully, if they should quarrel."
2. ꞑna ceebga heib itsa ꞑûn o, itsa ꞑoo. 68-69. "on that day, when thou eatest (of) the tree, thou diest."

(iv) The Causal Clause :

Also expressed by using *o*, "because."

1. *Jesip kei kei sada  ureeb orebadaha o*. 127. "to magnify God, because He frees us from our sins."
2. (?) *Jesip Christip  nami  ei sida iim bi o*. 40. See under variants.

(v) The Final Clause :

Subjunctive+*-ka* (postposed) to express "in order to."

1. *Cy  koab di Jesip Christip dika  ga  gasin  an  ansin ka i sisinbaka*. 3-4. "to learn to acknowledge and to work for both God and J. C."
2. *kueesan ti  oosa tina  koraka*. 84. "to judge the living and the dead."
3. *taaib ka  kannung ha sada  nami  ei orebaeka?* 121. "what does it behove us (to do), to be saved?"
4. *Jesip kje  hub  eib  eiha  uree  auna  koa ka i brieb maka*. 163-164 "J. is on earth, in order to seek sinners and give them happiness."

E. SOME NEW INTERPRETATIONS

Some of the translations offered for the sentences under Syntax differ very widely from those given by Vedder and therefore demand some explanation.

Syntax (iii) 1. Vedder translates (p. 13.): "Welche Strafe hat Gott den Menschen genannt sp ter sie beschuldigten einander als?" Wuras gives in his Vocabulary "to threaten,"  eiba; "to quarrel,"  noaku (reciprocal form *-ku*); "sorrow," *khaub*. Vedder equates *kaub* 'goa with Nama: *khuu-!g *; 'goa =  goa never means anything but "with" in our text. There is in the text another instance of *khaub* "sorrow," which Vedder failed to recognise, viz. * kamma  kei khaub  ureebga hoob* (the printed copy actually has *kaub*) which Vedder translates (p. 18) "wahren Hass S nden vor bekommen," where he makes *kaub* the equivalent of Nama: */kaob* and adds in a note "Eigentlich: Rache." It is more natural to feel "sorrow" (i.e., repentance) than "hatred" or "revenge" for our sins.

Syntax (iii) 2. I prefer to take *o*, as meaning "if," a meaning given by Wuras' Vocabulary and quite usual in Hottentot, instead of Vedder's "etwa," and treat the whole as a conditional clause, *its* is regularly the 2nd sing. personal pronoun and had better be taken thus, instead of Vedder's interpretation of the 1st *itsa* = *ei(ts)* "von," and the 2nd *itsa* = *otsa*, a needless complication, as Vedder himself felt, in his notes.

Syntax (iv) 1. Wuras' Vocabulary gives "to magnify," *kei kei*; *o* I take as equivalent of "because, as," a meaning given also in Wuras' Vocabulary.

Syntax (v). The meaning of the particle *-ka*, "in order to," is established beyond dispute by (v) 2, which is a literal translation of the Creed. It is therefore necessary to apply it in our 4 sentences. In (v) 3. *oreebaeka* is analysed into *oreeba* + *e* + *ka*, *e*, being the passive particle, hence: "in order to be redeemed" rather than Vedder's Nama equivalent *oreheb* *χa* "Erlöser von." (v) 4. Vedder translates: "J. ist auf Erde gekommen, Sündenleuten allen dass er Glück gebe (damit)," taking *•koa ka* as equivalent to Nama *hoaga* "allen." The *•*, i.e. the ejective velar affricate (also spelt *•k* by Wuras), clearly identifies the word with *•oa*, "to seek" of Wuras' Vocabulary, the force of the *-ka* particle then becomes quite clear.

F. VARIANTS

Only some of the more important of the variants can be dealt with here.

1. *Jesip Christip* *∩naŋmi •ei sada iim bi o*. 40. "because our Lord is on the side of J. C." The original sentence in the printed copy is obscure (cp. Vedder 10. and note 4) and see Variant on p. 2 of the text. Even entirely recast as it is, the meaning of the sentence remains unsatisfactory.

2. *∩eim ib kamma*. 49. 50. 51. 52. "in His image (lit.: "like His image.") *•ib* is absent from the printed copy. 52 reads in the Ms. text "∩eim ib kamma *ibkje* ∩eina kurruha, "in His image created he them," a closer translation of the original than the printed copy. For *ib*, "image," cp. Nama *ib*, "Bild, Ähnlichkeit, Gestalt."

3. *kueenka* \neg *na* *ib* \neg *na* *brieb* \neg *eiha*? 56. "did man in that image (or state) possess happiness?" The original of the printed copy has *koeenka bri eb inkje 'eiha*, '*na ib naankje ha o*, for which Vedder has: "Menschen denn glücklich sie waren denn, jenem Sein in sie waren als?" (p. 12). Wuras' Vocabulary gives \neg *ēi*, "to possess," the sentence as remodelled is crisper and clearer.

4. *kaab* \neg *na*, *annum* \neg *na*, *hannumb* \neg *na*. 55. "in wisdom, in holiness, in righteousness." The original of the printed copy is very unsatisfactory (see Vedder p. 12 and note 1). The present line is quite clear. For *kaab* "wisdom," Wuras' Vocabulary has "wisdom," *gab* (cp. Engel. *gā* "verstaan").

5. *heib* \neg *unkjeha*; *Cy* \neg *koabkje* \neg *ūn gu* *timi ha*; *heebkje* \neg *ūnha*. 63-64. "they ate (of) the tree; God": eat not, "so said (He); they ate (of) the tree." The printed copy has *koeenkjeke heib 'oennha*, *Cu 'koabkje 'oenn goe te miha heibkje 'oennha*, for which Vedder (p. 13.) has: Menschen haben des Baumes Früchte, Gott hatte esst davon nicht gesagt (die) des Baumes gegessen," taking *te miha*=Nama: *tite ti mihā* and thus repeating *te* three times. He also translates \neg *ūn gu*: "esst davon." The meaning of the first sentence as recast in the Ms. is beyond dispute. The second sentence I have translated in accordance with the emendation *ti* (Ms.) for *te* (printed copy), an emendation which makes the grammatical construction quite clear. I have already established (in Morphology—the Verb, negative forms), that \neg *ūn gu* means "eat not." It is then the Imperative which contains the negative required by the context. *ti* here (or the *te* of the printed copy) cannot have a negative force, as this form is only used with the future, as clearly stated in the Ms. Voc.: "*tee* (is used) for the Futurum," and as confirmed by the grammar (Appleyard 23. xiv) "negative with the future, *tee* is used instead of *tama* as *vkirtsita tee*, "I shall not be poor." The Ms. sentence as well as the printed copy is in the past (*kjeha* particle.)

Then, a meaning has to be found for *ti mi*. This is *ti mi + kjeha*, "so said He." We find in Kroenlein under *ti*: Pron. dem. "so, also"; *ti mī*, "sage so"; *ti mī re*, "sage doch so," and other examples. The *ti*, "so" of our sentence is found (i) in our text in the compound \neg *natiba*, "thus" (\neg *na*, "that" + *ti*

+ba); (ii) in the Ms. Voc. \neg nati, "so"; \neg nati, "likewise"; (iii) in the grammar, not compounded with \neg na, "that" but with the other demonstrative *he*, "this": *hee tii*, "such" (Appleyard 25. viii). Cp. also Engel. (p. 42. No. 34.): *xnati r na mī*, so sê ek ook" and *xnati*, "so, net so."

6. *brieb ti aub*, "the happiness maker." 91. For full discussion of the compound, see under Word Composition noun+noun. The printed copy has *brieb mata aub*, which Vedder (p. 15), rightly translates: "Glück gibt uns Mann." The line of the Ms. is in accordance with the Korana usage, a much more correct and lighter expression.

7. Here is a series of 4 sentences, where the context is essential:

Printed copy, Vedder p. 18. 86-89.

hamtibna Heere J. Koning besee di?
wie der Heer J. König als tut?"

Eimkje kau taab ha.

"Er beherrscht uns."

hamgoeba ka H. J. 'eindi 'koem
auszand kauha?

"Welches Ding den H. J. (als)
seine getreuen Aussender hat?"

Heilige Geest goe cu Koab, hoam
goe.

H. G. von Gott, allen (beiden) von.

Ms. Catechism. 128-133.

hamtibna Jesip nosab besee di ha?
"how does Jesus do as King?"

\neg Eimkje kaudaha.

"He rules us."

hamgubgu J. bee \neg eimti 'kumsana
kauha?

"what thing (with) does J. rule
His faithful?"

\wedge geisa \wedge ums gu.

"With the H. G."

The first sentence has already been treated in Morphology—the Verb—Present Indicative No. 5, where the unusual combination *-na* and *-ha* has been noted. In the printed copy, the tense is clearly present, in accordance with the context, since Jesus still rules us.

In sentence 2, the verb, in spite of its form, on account of which it was classified under Past Indicative No. 1, is clearly in the present, as the meaning requires.

Sentence 3, has the present *-ha*. *auszand* is, according to Vedder, <Dutch, *aus+zand*. The Ms. does away with this difficulty. For *kauha*, it is unnecessary to adopt Vedder's equation with Nama *ū-hā*, as it obviously must have the same meaning as the same word in the preceding line.

The last line is greatly curtailed in the Ms. The words omitted should mean "with God's message" (cp. exactly the same phrase in

149, 150, and also 161, 162). Vedder's equation 'hoam goe=Nama hoakha χu is untenable. The meaning now given fits in much better with the context.

8. *Cy* $\neg koab$ *hoam dana ho goae hamba?* 150. "do we obtain God's message, it being written?" -*ba* of the printed copy is omitted after the 'hoam, for no apparent reason that I can discover, as 'hoam is the object and justifies the form *hamba*. *ho*, "to get, to obtain," as also in the Ms. Voc. and not as in Vedder, *o*, "denn."

9. *Hame bi* $\neg am$ *ti gub ora* $\neg kei$ *aresina* $\neg na$ *maba?* 157-8. "what is the chief part which stands in the New Testament?" The printed copy has *hamme bi 'aam (aam) di 'heoba (hooba) . . .*" which Wuras, in his facsimile copy, had corrected: *goe* for '*heo* (*hoo*). Vedder translates: "Welche Mitteilungen erzählen (uns) . . . , " taking '*aamdi*=Nama *amti*(?) $\neg am$ s "Mund, dann mündlicher Bericht, Gesang, Botschaft"; joining *bi* with *hame* and supplying *da*, "uns." But it is evident that the substitution of *gub* for '*heo* (*hoo*) demands a new interpretation. Now, *hame* from *ham*, "what" + *e*, which, according to Wuras, is an Interrogative particle, or better still, may perhaps be *i* "to be" (cp. Syntax—the Nominal Clause). In either case, the *qi* could not be joined as indicated by Vedder. Therefore, *bi*, must be connected with $\neg am$, i.e., *bi* $\neg am$, for which the Ms. Voc. gives *biām*, "head"; Appleyard, (p. 13) *bi 'kam*, "head" and Witsen's list of Western Cape Hottentot (extinct), *biquaän*, "caput" (Cape Monthly, iii. 1857. p. 38). *ti* is obviously the genetive particle; *gub*, means "thing." Hence, *bi* $\neg am$ *ti gub* "the thing at (of) the head, the chief thing." Cp. the German *Hauptsache* and the Dutch *Hoofdzaak*, meaning the chief point, "the essentials," of which this phrase is Wuras' Hottentot adaptation. The new interpretation here proposed has the advantage of doing away with a *da* that does not exist and of fitting in exactly with the context, for the answer to the question is Evangelioob, "the Gospel," which, every Christian will admit, is the chief thing, the very essence of the New Testament.

For *maba* here, forming a relative clause, see under Syntax—the Relative Clause.

(b) Omissions :

1. L: 19-21, p. 2 of the printed copy are omitted between l. 45 and 46, p. 3 of the Ms. text. They deal with the number of days

taken by God to create the world. Perhaps Wuras thought them superfluous in view of the context.

2. L : 23-25; p. 6 of the printed copy are omitted between l. 156 and 157, p. 7 of the Ms. text. They refer to the Old Testament and the Ten Commandments. There, again, the plea of irrelevance might possibly explain the suppression. Vedder's emendation of 1 : 26 of the printed copy : "Hier sind die Worte *•kora* ''*kei •aresina* hinzufügen" is not only correct, but further justified by Wuras' inclusion of the words both in his corrections on the facsimile copy and in the Ms. text.

G. SUBSTITUTION OF KORANA WORDS FOR DUTCH WORDS

A number of Dutch words occur in the printed copy for which Korana words have been substituted in the Ms. text.

DUTCH :	KORANA :	DUTCH :	KORANA :
Heilige Geest	^geisa ^ums		
kerk	^haub	koning	ᵐnosab
offer	masinha	offer	'kuib
persoon	^gub	segen	^gei
straf	^gaweeb	zonde	ᵐureeb

Some have disappeared from the Ms. text entirely : *•auszand*,

Heere. Some have been preserved, such as *brieb*, "happiness." (Ms. Voc. "wealth"); *nochuwa*, "yet" (?), *Hoogepriest*, *Propheet*.

brieb, "wahrscheinlich . . . aus *bly*" glücklich (Holl.) (Vedder 12 note 2). The Ms. Voc. gives "wealth" *brieb*, and Bourquin compares the Nama word *bereb*, "Brot, Lebensunterhalt," which seems to suggest that this is the etymology he proposes. The meaning "Glück" is attested in Burkhardt : "Die evangelische Mission unter den Völkerstämmen Süd Afrikas" (1877). p. 118.

Finally, in the printed copy, every question (except p. 3, l. 16), is preceded by V. i.e., Dutch *vraag*, "question" and every answer by "A. i.e., Dutch *antwoord*, "answer." In the Ms. version T. (Ms. Voc. *tī*, "enquire") and H. (Ms. Voc. ᵐhoa *•am*, "answer"; Engel. *phōa-χ̄am*) are substituted throughout.

H. TEXT

A few words of explanation about the setting out of the text are necessary. The original pagination of the Ms. has been preserved and also its original lines. Under the line on each page, are given the variants of the printed copy, and in brackets, the handwritten corrections and additions made by Wuras in his facsimile copy.

(1)

1. T. Tachuba ida ʌheib •ei •eiha ?
H. Cy ʌkoab di Jesip Christip dika
ʌga ʌgasin ʌan ʌansin ka i sisin-
baka.
5. Joannip. 17. 3 : Heebkje ʌamo •koeem-
ba, saats ina ʌanna, 'kui •kama
•kei Cy ʌkoab di Jesip Christip di-
ka, saatskje sihamb.
- T. Hamgubgu' dana Cy ʌkoab ʌga ʌga-
sin ʌan ʌansin ?
10. H. 'Kanim gu.
T. Hamti i Cy ʌkoab dana ʌeim ʌga
ʌgasin ʌan ʌansin 'kaningu ?
H. ʌkui Cy ʌkoab bisee, 'hannung Cy-
15. ʌkoab bisee.
- Deutr. 6. 14 : ʌNau ʌko Israel !
ʌgub sida Cy ʌkoabkje 'kui Cy-
'koaba.
- T. Hamko ʌgukua ʌkui Cy ʌkoab
20. ʌna hakua ?
H. ʌNona ʌgukua.

1. Tachoewa (w *erased and b written over*) , eiha ?
2. . . . "an "ansin koemma i
9. Hamgoeba (g *inserted between b and a*) tana "an "anansin
annoem cu 'koabsee ?
11. 'kannimga.
- 12-13. Hamti dana Cu 'koab 'kanninga 'ka "an "ansin ?
- 14-15. . . . Cu 'koabisee, . . . Cu 'koabisee . . .
19. Hamkoo Persoon (*erased and i written over*) koeka 'koei Cu
'koak . . . (k *erased and b written over*).
21. 'Nona Persoon (*erased and i written over*) koeka.

(2)

22. T. Hamti 'on ʌgukua?
H. Cy ʌkoab iim, Cy ʌkoab oam, Cy-
ʌkoab ʌgeisa ʌums.
25. T. •Eise Artikel ham ʌgub ina mi?
H. Cy ʌkoab iim.
T. 'kam ʌeim Artikel ham ʌgubina
mi?
H. Cy ʌkoab oam.
30. T. ʌNona ʌeim Artikel ham ʌgub ina
mi?
H. Cy ʌkoab ʌgeisa ʌums.
- ARTIKEL I.
- 'Kumreha Cy ʌkoab iim, ʌkeisa ʌkurru
35. •aub 'humi ti ʌhub •eib dikakje dihamb.
T. Hamti dana Cy ʌkoab ga mi?
H. Cy ʌkoab iim.
T. Tachuba dana Cy ʌkoab sida iim
dami?
40. H. Jesip Christip ʌnami •ei sida iim
bi o.
T. Hamti dana Cy ʌkoab ʌgawa mi?
H. ʌgeisa 'kurru •aub.
T. Hamgukuakje kurruha Cy ʌkoab bee?

22. Hamti 'on persoon koeka? (persoon *not erased*).
24. Heilige Geest (*erased and ʌgeisa ʌoems written over it*).
25. 'Eis 'e Artikel ham persoon (*erased and ib written above it*) inna . . .
- 27-30. ham persoon (*erased and ib written above it*) inna
32. Cu 'koab Heilige Geest (*erased and ʌgeisa ʌums written instead, . . .*)
36. •Eise Artikel hamti
38. Tachoea (w *erased and b written over it*) d. Cu 'koabga sida
- 40-41. 'Natiba Heilige Geest (*erased and ʌgeisa ʌums written above it*) ga idakje 'kaam oaeo.
42. Cu 'koabga 'noe kassee mi?
43. Keisa koerroe aub :
44. HamgoGkoekje koerroeha Cu 'koabee?

(3)

45. H. Hoagukua.
 T. Hamceeb bee Cy ʔkoabkje kueena kurruha ?
 H. ʔNanni ʔeim ceeb.
 T. Hamtibkje Cy ʔkoab kueena kurruha ?
 H. ʔEim ib kamma.
50. Genesis 1 : 27 : Cy ʔkoabkje ʔeim ib kamma
 ibkje kueena kurruha, ʔeim ib kamma
 ibkje ʔeina kurruha.
 T. Ham ʔgeib ʔna inkje kueena Cy ʔkoab
 kamma i ?
55. H. kaab ʔna, ʔannum ʔna, ʔhannumb ʔna.
 T. kuenka ʔna ib ʔna brieb inkje ʔeiha ?
 H. A.
 T. kuenka ʔna brieb ʔna ha hankje ha ?
 H. Haa.
60. T. Taaib inkje diha, ʔna brieb ʔna hata maha ?

Between 45 and 46, the following in the printed copy suppressed in the Ms.

- V. Hamkoo iekoea (i *erased* and c *written over*) cu 'koabjeke hoagoe
 koea koerroeha.
- A. 'Nanni i 'ee koea (i *erased* and c *written over*).
46. Hami 'eebee (' *erased* and c *written over*). Cu koabkje koeena
 koerroehaba.
47. 'nanni 'eim i 'eeb (i' *erased* and c *written above*).
49. 'Eim kamma.
- 50-1. . . . 'eim kammakje koena koerroeha, 'eim kamma ibkje
 koeena koerroeha.
53. Ham 'keib 'ei inkje
55. 'Eim kaabga (ga *erased* and ʔna *written over*), 'eim 'annum ga
 (ga *erased* and ʔna *written over*), 'eimti 'oob oabga (ga *erased* and
 ʔna *written over*).
56. koeenka bri eb (eb *erased* and b *written over*), inkje 'eiha, 'na
 ib naankje ha o.
58. . . . 'na bri ab (ab *erased* and b *written over*)
59. Ha 'a.
60. . . . di a (a *erased* and ha *written over*), inkje koeena 'na brieb
 'na

- H. ☉Ureeb inkje diha.
 T. Ham ☉ureeb bee inkje diha ?
 H. Heib ʔuñkjecha, Cy ʔkoabkje ʔuñgu
 timiha heibkje ʔuñha.
 65. T. Ham ʔgaweeb Cy ʔkoabkje kueena ʔei-
 baha kaub ʔgoa inta ʔnoaku o ?

(4)

- H. ʔEib ʔoob ti ʔam ʔoob tika.
 Genesis 2. 17 : ʔNa ceebga heib itsa ʔuñ o,
 itsa ʔoo.
 70. T. Hee ʔoobka Adami ʔkuibgakje ha ha ?
 H. Ha a ; hoa kueengakje ha. Romein 5, 12.
 T. Tanta ʔamm ʔoobgu orebada ?
 H. Jesip Christip.

ARTIKEL II.

75. ʔKumreha Jesip Christip Cy ʔkoab ti
 ʔkui oam, sida ʔgub, ʔgo ʔoakje ha ʔgeisa
 ʔumsgu, oackje ha oageis Maria sa, thū
 ʔamme ibkjeke ha Pontip Pilatip ceeb ga
 ibkjekeha, ʔkauebkjecha, ʔoobkjeha, ʔnauebkje-
 80. ha, hellega ʔoa ibkje ʔkūaga, ʔnona ʔeimb
 ceebga ʔeibkjekeha, ʔoobgu, ʔhumi ga ʔoa

-
61. Zonde (*erased and ʔoereeb written beside it*) ; inkje diha *added in the Ms.*
 63. Ham zonde (*erased and ʔoereeb written over*), bee Adam di Eva
 dikakje dihaba.
 63. Koeenkjeke heib ʔoennha te miha
 67. Ham strafibkje (*straf erased and ʔkawab written over*)
 65. ʔEib ʔoob di ʔʔam ʔoob dika.
 68. 2. 87. ʔNa iʔeebga (*i erased*) ʔoenno, itsa ʔoh.”
 71. Haʔ aʔ, hoa koeenga (*g erased.*)
 72. Tannta *In the Ms. the second t of tanta has d surcharged
 over it and then crossed out.* 74. Heere (*erased*). J. C. . . . 77.
 . . . Heilige Geest (*not erased*) ga
 78-79. thoe ʔkammee Pontius Pilatus ; iʔeebga (*iʔ erased*), ibje
 keha ibjeke ʔkaueha ibkjeke ʔooha, ibkjeke ʔnaueha, ibkjeke hellega
 ʔoa koeaha (*1st a erased*), ibkje ʔnona ʔeib iʔ eebga ʔkeiha ʔoobgoe
 ʔhumimiga ʔoa ibkjekeha ʔawaha.

- awabkjecha, ibkje Cy ɾkoab ti •amm ɔoam
 ɔna ɿnua, ɾnaba gu ibkjeta ɾgawaha,
 •kueessan ti ɾoosa tina ɿkoraka.
85. T. Hame Jesip Christip ba ?
 H. Cy ɾkoab ti oam, •ama •ei Cy ɾkoab,
 •ama •ei kueeb tika.
 Joannip 5, 20 : Heebkje •ama •ei Cy ɾkoabba
 i ʌammo •kueemb.
90. T. Taaiba Jesip ti ɿkɔna ?
 H. Brieb ti •aub.

(5)

- T. Taaib ba Christip ti •kona
 H. ʌAu ʌammekje hamb.
- T. Hamgub gu Jesipkje ʌau ʌammeha ?
95. H. ʌGeisa ʌums ʌgoa.
 T. Jesip bee taaib besebkje ʌau ʌammeha ?
 H. Prophet besee, Hogepristip besee,
 ɿNosab besee.
- T. Taaib ibkje Jesip Prophet besee ibkje
 100. diha ?
 H. Cy ɾkoab tieb ibkje ʌan ʌandaha :
 gukua nochuwa itam aha ibkje ɾna-

84. •koocha di 'oosa dina 'kooahka.
 85. Hamme Heere (*erased*) J. C. . . . 86. . . . •kamma •kei.
 87. •kamma •kei . . . ; dika *added in handwriting*. In the Ms. there
 is a stroke over the • of •ama and the t of tika appears as l
 (*uncrossed t*).
 88. . . . •kamma •kei
 90. Tachoea (w *erased and b written above it*) Jesip ti ? kon ?
 91. Brieb mata aub (mata *erased and ti written above it*).
 92. Tachoea Christus di ? kon ?
 94. Hamgoeb ''goa Heere Jesipkjeke
 95. Heilige Geest (*erased and ʌgeisa oems written above it*).
 96. Heere (*erased*) J.
 97. Propheet . . . , Hoogepriesta
 98. Koning (*erased and nosab written above it*).
 99. . . . Heere J. . . Propheet sibkje o diha.
 101. . . . tieb biebkje ''an ''antaha nochoea itamaha goekoea
 ibkjeke 'nataha.

daha.

105. T. Hamtibkje Jesip Hogepristip besee
ibkje diha ?
H. 'Kuibkjeja, 7kureebkjeja, 7geibkjeja.
T. Taaiba 'kuiba ?
H. Cy 7koab gub mab.
T. Jesip taaib bibkje maha ?
110. H. 7Eisin 7eibkje masinha.
T. Tachub 7kamma ibkje 'kuisinha ?
H. Sada 7ureekuga.

(6)

- T. Jesip bee taaib bibkje sisin o ? oassin-
badaha ?
115. H. Sada oreebab.
T. Taaibgu ibkje orebadaha ?
H. 7Ureebgu, 7oobgu, 7kau 7naam gu.
T. Hamti dana 7natiba Jesip ba mi ?
H. Sida oreba 7aub.
120. T. Taaib ka 7kannung ha sada 7nami
7ei oreebaeka ?
H. Ada Jesip 'kum.
T. Hame 'kuma ?
H. 1. Sad 7ureeb, 7anna.

104. Heere J. . . Hoogepriest sibkje o diha (Heere *erased*).
106. Offerebkjeja (offer *erased and* 'koeib *written above it*), . . . segent
kjeja (segent *erased and* 7geib *written above it*).
107. Taaib bee offerba (offer *erased and* 'koei *written above it*).
109. Heere J. . . bibkje offerha (offerba *erased and* maha *written beside it*).
110. offersinha (offer *erased and* ma *written above it*).
111. 7ibkjeke offersinha (offer *erased and* koei *written beside it*).
112. sonde koega (sonde *erased and* 7oere *written above it*).
113. Heere J. bee oassinbataha (Heere *not erased*).
117. zonde goe (zonde *erased and* 7oereb *written over*.) . . . 'kau
nahmgoe.
118. Heere J. (Heere *erased*).
121. 7kei oreebaeka.
122. Hada Heere Jesip . . . (Heere *not erased*).
124. Soda zonde (*erased and* 7oere *written beside it*) koea 'anna.

125. 2. •Kama •kei khaub ④ureebga hoob.
 3. Jesip kei kei sada ④ureeb ore-
 badaha o.
 T. Hamtibna Jesip 7nosab besee di-
 ha ?
130. H. 7Eimkje kaudaha.
 T. Hamgubgu Jesip bee 7eimti 'kum-
 sana kauha ?
 H. 7Geisa 7ums gu.

(7)

ARTIKEL III.

135. 'kumreha 7geisa 7ums, 7anum hoanti
 Christen ti 7haub, 7anum ti 'kuib, ④ureeb
 ti orebaab, 7oob ti •keim i 7ammo •kueem.
 T. Hame 7geisa 7ums sa ?
 H. 7Nona 7eim 7gub Cy 7koab 7na.
140. T. Tana 7geisa 7ums sie ?
 H. Cy 7koab iim, Cy 7koab oam dika.
 T. Hame 7geisa 7ums ti sisina ?
 1. 7Eimkje 7keidana.
 2. 7Eimkje 7na 7nabadana.

125. kaub zonde koega hoab (zonde *not erased*).
 126. Heere Jesip na kei kei 'eimta sada sonde orebataha 'keib
 (Heere *not erased*).
 128. Heere Jesip koning (*erased and 7nosa written above it*)
 besee di.
 131-2. Hamgoeba ka Heere Jesip 'eimdi 'koem •auszand kauha
 (Heere *not erased*).
 133. Heilige Geest (*erased and 7geisa 7ums written above it*) goe
 Cu koab ,hoaam goe.
 134-5. 'koemreha Heilige Geest (*erased 7eisa 7ums written above*),
 'annoem Christen di kerk (*erased 7haub written above*).
 136. zonde (*not erased*) di oeroebab, . oob di kei 'm i ''ammo 'koem.
 138. Hamme Heilige Geest (*erased 7geisa /ums written above*) ba.
 139. 'Nona 'eim Persoon (*not erased*) Cu 'koab na.
 140. Tanna Heilige Geest (*erased 7geisa 7ums written above*) sie.
 141. iim di Cu 'koab dika.
 142. Hamme Heilige Geest (*not erased*) di

145. 3. \neg Eimkje \wedge garra \wedge garra \neg kaudana.
 4. \neg Eimkje \neg annum \neg anumdana.
 T. \neg geisa \wedge umska hamgubgu ibna
 \wedge keida?
 H. Cy \neg koab 'hoamb gu.
 150. T. Cy \neg koab 'hoam dana go goae
 hamba?
 H. \neg kannim \neg na.
 T. Hamko \neg adee ka 'kannim u \neg ae
 hadee?
 155. H. 'kam: \neg neisa \neg kei \cdot aresina ti \cdot ora
 'kei \cdot aresina tika.
 T. Hame bi \neg am ti gub \cdot ora 'kei \cdot are-
 sina \neg na maba?
 H. Evangelioob.

(8)

160. T. Hame Evangeliopba?
 H. 'Keie 'kaue 'hoam.
 T. Hame 'keie 'kaue 'hoamba?
 H. Jesipkje \neg hub \cdot eib \cdot eiha, \odot uree \cdot au-
 na \cdot koa ka i brieb maka.

147. Heilige Geest (*erased* \wedge geisa \wedge ums *written above*) ka hamgoeb
 'na ibna 'keita.

149. Cu 'koab 'hoaam.

150. Cu 'koab 'hoaam batana

Between 157 and 158, 3 lines of the printed copy omitted in the Ms.:

V. Hamme bi 'aam di 'heoba ('heo *erased and goe written above it*) ''neisa ''kei \cdot aresina 'na maaba.

A. Cu 'koab di mihmbaab i jisi kaukoea.

157. Hamme bi aam di hooba (*hoo erased and goe written above; and the 4 words \cdot korah \cdot kei aresina \neg na in handwriting in continuation of the line.*)

160. Hamme Evangeliooba.

163-4. \cdot eiha, \cdot koree \cdot auna \cdot koa

VOCABULARY

This Vocabulary is meant (i) to give the meanings of the words to be found in the Text, (ii) to compare these words with those of the Ms. Voc., of Engelbrecht's work and of Kroenlein's *Wortschatz der Khoi-khoi*; (iii) to serve as a reference to the words quoted in the linguistic introduction. In this last connection, the numbers after each word indicate the line of the text where they are to be found. The noun and adjective suffixes are not mentioned separately, but are to be found under each separate noun or adjective. The verb particles, on the other hand, are listed separately, as this arrangement is found to be more convenient. The grammatical abbreviations used here are the usual ones. It may be worth while mentioning, however, that n.=noun; v.=verb; p.=pronoun; postp.=postposition; com.=common. Otherwise, Ms. V.=Wuras' Manuscript Vocabulary; E.=Engelbrecht; N.=Kroenlein.

The order of the words is as follows: (i) The vowels arranged alphabetically, (ii) the consonants arranged alphabetically, (iii) the ejective velar affricate and the clicks, the latter arranged in the following order: ʌ, Ɂ, Ɂ̥, Ɂ̥̥.

A.

a. adv. "yes" (Ms. V. a, "ay"; E. ā; N. ā). 57.

a. particle optative in a-da, "let us." 122; postposed (?) in ina
ʌanna. 6.

artikel. n. (<Dutch artikel). 25. 27. 30. 33. 74. 134.

E.

Evangelioob. n. 159; (-ba). 160.

I.

i. v. "to be" (N. i, "sein, werden"). 102.

i. v. "to be like" (N. ī, "scheinen, gleichen, ähneln"). 12. 54.

i. conj. "and" (Ms. V. i) 3. 137. 164.

ib. n. "image" (N. ib). 49. 50. 51. 56.

ib. pro. pers. 3rd. m.s. subj. (kjeta) 83; (kjeha) 78. 80. 82. 99. 101. 102. 105. 109. 111. 113. 116; (-bkjeha) 79. 81. 82. 106; (-na) 147.

ida. pro. pers. 3rd. pl. com. subj. 1; da (-na) subj. 9. 12. 36. 38. 42. 118. 150. obj. -da- 148. 72; da (-ha) 103. 114. 116. 127. 130. 131. da (-na) 130. 143. 144. 145. 146.

iim. n. "father" (N. ib) 23. 26. 34. 37. 38. 141; (-bi) 41.

ina. pro. pers. 3rd. com. pl. subj. 6; *in* (-*kjeha*) 53. 56. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64; -*n* (-*kjeha*) 58. *in* (-*ta*) 66; *inkje* . . . *i*, 53.
its. pro. pers. 2nd. sing. subj. (-*a*) 68. 69.

O.

o. conj. "if, because, as" (Ms. V. *o*, "as"; E. *o*, 'as,' "wanneer"; N. *o*). 41. 66. 68. 127.
o. postp. "without," see under \wedge *ammo*.
oae. v. passive "to be born" (cp. Ms. V. *oāeb*, "birth"; N. *ōa*, "zeugen, gebären)." 77.
oageis. n. "virgin" (Ms. V. *oacheis*; E. *ōaχais*; N. *ōaχais*) 77.
oam. n. "son" (Ms. V. *oām*; E. *oāb*; N. *ōab*) 23. 29. 76. 86. 141.
oreba. v. "to save, deliver, redeem" (Ms. V. *oreba*; E. *oreba* "vir jemand losmaak"; N. *oreba*). 72. 116. 119. 126; passive, (-*e*-), 121.
n. oreebab (*orebaab*) 115. 137.

U.

u. \cap *ae*. v. passive, see under \cap *a*.

B.

bi. \cap *am*. n., see under \cap *am*.
brieb. n. "happiness" (Ms. V. *brieb*, "wealth"). 56. 58. 60. 91. 164.

C.

ceeb. n. "day." (Ms. V. *cēb*, *tsēb*; E. *tsēb*; N. *tsēb*). 47. 68. 78. 81 (-*bee*) 46.
Cy \cap *koab*. n. "God" (Ms. V. *Thuy* \cap *goab*; E. *tsu-xgoab*; N. *tsūi-//goab*) 2. 7. 9. 12. 14. 17. 19. 23. 24. 26. 29. 32. 34. 36. 37. 38. 42. 46. 48. 50. 53. 63. 65. 75. 82. 86. 101. 108. 139. 141. 149. 150; (-*ba*) 18. 88; (-*bee*) 44; (-*bi*) 14. 15.

D.

di. v. "to do," "to make" (Ms. V. *di*; E. *dī*; N. *dī*) 60. 61. 62. 100. 105. 129; pres. part. *dihamb*. 35.
di. conj. "and." See under *tī*.

G.

ga. postp. "about," "in respect of." (N. *χ'a*.) 36. 68. 70. 71. 78. 80. 81. 112.

- goa*. v. "to write" (Ms. V. *choa*; E. *χoa*; N. *χoa*) (passive) 50.
gu. v. "to leave" (Ms. V. *chu*; E. *χu*; N. *χu*) 63. negative in *tuñ gu*.
gu. postp. "from, out of, with" (Ms. V. *chu*, "by"; N. *χu*) 11. 13. 72.
 77. 81. 83. 117. 133. 149.
gub. n. "thing" (Ms. V. *chūb*; E. *χūb*; N. *χūb*) 108. 157; *chub* in
tachuba, which see; and see also *hambgubgu*; plur. *gukua*,
 "things." 44. 45. 102.

H.

- ha*. v. particle. present indic. 34. 75. 127. 129. 130. (?) 132. 135. 154.
 See *-kjeha*.
ha. v. "to remain" (Ms. V. *ha* (low tone); E. *ha*; N. *hā*) 70. 71;
haha intensive. (N. *hāhā* "gänzlich bleiben, ausharren") 58.
ha. v. "to be" (Ms. V. *ha* (middle tone); E. *hā*; N. *hā*) 1. 60. 70. 71.
 163; (*-dee*) 154; (*-kua*) 20.
ha. v. "to come" (Ms. V. *ha* (high tone); E. *hā*; N. *hā*) 83.
haa. adv. "no" (Ms. V. *haa*; E. *haä*; N. *hēē*) 59. 71.
ham. pro. interrog. (Ms. V. *ham*; E. *ham*; N. only in *hamo*, "wann.")
 25. 27. 30. 44. 46. 53. 62. 65.
hame. (Ms. V.) 85. 123. 136. 142. 157. 160. 162.
hamti. "how"; 12. 22. 36. 42. 48. 104. 118. 128.
hamgubgu. "how, with what thing?" 9. 94. 131. 147.
hamko. "how many?" 19. 153.
hee. pro. dem. "this" (Ms. V. *hee*; E. *hē*; N. *nē*) 70; (*-bkje*) 5. 88.
heib. n. "tree" (Ms. V. *heib*; E. *haib*; N. *heib*). 63. 64. 68.
helle. n. "Hell" (<Dutch *hel*) 80.
hoa. "to get, to obtain" (Ms. V. *ho*; E. *hō*; N. *ho*) 150.
hoob. Inf. used as noun (?) 125.
hoa. pro. indef. "all" (Ms. V. E. *hoa*; N. *hoa*) 45. 71; plur. *hoan*. 135.

K.

- ka*. dual particle, attached to *dī*, "and." 2. 8. 35. 141; (*ti-*). 67. 87. 156.
ka. v. particle, subjunctive, with final meaning (E. *ga*; N. *nī* . . . *ga*).
 3. 4. 84. 121. 164.
ka. particle interrogative (cp. N. *kha*. conj. and interj. "denn, ei,") 56.
 58. 70. 147.
kaab. n. "wisdom" (Ms. V. *gab*; cp. E. *gā*, "verstaan"; N. *gāb*,
 "List, "gās" Weisheit.") 55.
kamma. postp. "like," "as" (Ms. V. *kamma*; N. *khama*). 49. 50. 51. 54.
kau. v. "to rule" (cp. Ms. V. *gaub*, "law"; E. *gao*, "regeer"; N. *gao*)
 130. 132.

kei kei. v. causative. to "magnify" (Ms. V. *kei kei*; E. *gai gai*, "groot maak"; N. *gei gei*, "gross machen," "erhöhen"). 126.

khaub. n. "sorrow" (Ms. V. *khaub*). 125; (*kaub*). 66.

kje. v. "to be." (E. *gye*; N. *gye*). *heeb*-. 5. 88; (*Cy* \neg *koab*-.). 17; (*in*- . . . *i*). 53.

kjeha. v. particle past indicative :—(noun subject). 71; (*ib*-) 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 106; (reduplicated *ibkjekeha*) 78. 79; (*inkjeha*). 58; (split : *-kje* . . . *ha*) noun subject : 44. 46. 48. 50. 65. 70. 84; (*-ib*- . . . *ha*). 51. 52. 96. 99. 101. 102. 105. 109. 110. 111. 113. 116. 130. (?); (*-in* . . . *ha*). 56. 60. 61. 62.

kjeta. v. particle future indicative. (*ib*-). 83.

kje (with pronoun *na*) 143. 144. 145. 146.

kjeha. v. particle : passive past. part. 76. 77.

kje. . . . *hamb*. active present participle 8. 35. 93.

kueeb. n. "man" (Ms. V. *khoēb*; E. *khoēb*; N. *khoib*). 87; plur. com. *kueen*. 56. 58. 71. *kueena*, (Ms. V. *khoēna*, "people"). 48. 51. 53. 65.

kurru. v. "to create" (Ms. V. *kurru*; N. *guru*). 34. 43. 44. 46. 48. 51. 52.

M.

ma. v. "to give." (Ms. V. *ma* (low tone); E. *ma*; N. *ma*). 109. 164; reflex. (*-sin*) 110. inf. *mab*. 108.

ma. v. "to stand" (Ms. V. *ma* (high tone); E. *mā*; N. *mā*). pres. part. *maba*. 158.

mi. v. "to say" (cp. Ms. V. *mimb*, "word"; E. *mī*; N. *mī*). 25. 28. 31. 36. 39. 42. 64. 118.

N.

-na. v. particle pres. ind. (*da*-). 9. 12. 36. 38. 42. 118; (*ina*). 25. 27. 29. 30; (*ha*) 129; (*da*- object). 143. 144. 145. 146. 148. (?)

nochuwa. adv. (?) "yet" (?) 102. According to Vedder, p. 16. n. 2. "Umbildung aus *nog* (Holl), "noch" and he equates it with N. *noχwu*.

R.

-r. pro. pers. 1st. sing. (*-ha*). 34. 75. 135.

S.

saats. pro. pers. 2nd masc. sing. subj. 5. 8; obj. 6.

sada. pro. poss. 1st. com. plur. incl. (Ms. V. *sada*; E. *sira*, *sada*; N. *sada*). 112. 115. 120. 126; *sad*. 124.

- see. adv. particle. 14. 15. 97. 98. 99. 104. 128 ; (-se- in *besebkje*). 96.
si. v. "to send" (Ms. V. *sī* ; E. *sī* ; N. *sī*). pres. part. (-*hamb*). 8 ;
sie. 140.
sida. pro. poss. 1st. com. excl. (Ms. V. *sida* ; E. *sira* ; *sida* N. *sida*.) 17.
 38. 40. 76. 119.
sisin. v. "to work" (Ms. V. *sisīna* ; E. *sīsīn* ; N. *sīsēn*). obj. (*ba*). 3. 113.
 n. "work" ; *sisina* (Ms. V. *sisīnb*). 142.

T.

- ta*. v. particle future indicative : (*in-*). 66 ; (*ibkje-*). 83.
ta. pro. interrog : (-*na*). 72. 140.
taaib (<*tae*+*b* ; Ms. V. *taaib*, "what.") 60. 96. 99. 109. 113. 120 ;
 (-*ba*). 90. 92. 107.
tachuba. (<*ta*+*chuba*), "what thing, why" 1. 38 ; *tachub* 111.
taaibgu. 116.
tama. adv. "not" (Ms. V. *tama* ; E. *tama* ; N. *tama*). 60. 62.
thū. •*amme*. v. (<*thū*, "to suffer." Ms. V. *thū* ; E. *thū* ; N. *tsū*+?)
 77. The meaning is quite clear, as it translates "He suffered"
 in the Apostles' Creed.
ti. adv. "so" (N. *ti* "also, so"). 64. See also ɾ*nati*.
ti. genitive particle. 75. 82. 86. 90. 92. 135. 136. 137. 142. 157.
ti. v. "to make," see *dī*. N. *tieb* "deed." 101.
ti. conj. "and," also spelt *dī* ; *ti* . . . *tika*. "both . . . and" 67. 155 ;
dī . . . *dika*. 2. 7 ; *dika*. 87. 141. *ti* . . . *tina*, "both . . . and." 84.

•, •K.

- ama* •*ei*. adj. "true" (Ms. V. •*amase*, E. *χamase* ; N. *ama-ei*) 86. 87.
 88 ; •*kama*•*kei*. 6. 125.
 •*amm*. adj. "right" (N. *am*). 82.
 •*aub*. n. "man" only in composition to form the agent (Ms. V. •*aub* ;
 E. *χaub* ; N. *aob*) 35. 43. 91. 119 ; plur. com. •*auna*. 163.
 •*ei*. postp. "on, at" (Ms. V. •*ei* ; N. *ei*;) 1. 40. 121. 160. 163 ; see
 ɾ*nami*.
 •*eise*. adj. numer. "first" (Ms. V. •*eissi* ; N. *ei*). 25.
 •*ora*. adj. "new" (Ms. V. •*ora* ; E. *χorasa*, "rou" ; N. *ora*, "new,"
 "unreif"). 155. 157.
 •*kamma*. postp. "for" (N. *ama*). 111.
 •*kannung*. adj. "worthy" (Ms. V. •*annūm* ; N. *anu*). 120.
 •*kei*. v. "to rise" (Ms. V. *khēi* ; E. *khāi* ; N. *khāi*). 81. The ejective
 velar affricate is incorrect here. Noun •*keim*, "ressurrection"
 (<•*kei*+*b*). 137.

- koa*. v. "to seek" (Ms. V. •*oa*; E. $\overline{\chi}$ *oa*; N. *oa*). 164.
 •*koemb*. n. "life" (Ms. V. °*oēm*; E. $\overline{\chi}$ *ōeb*; N. *ūib*). 89; (•*kueem*) 137;
 (-*ba*). 6. adj.; •*kueessan* plur. com. 84.

^

- ^*am*, ^*amo*. adj. "eternal" (Ms. V. ^*am o*, E. *camōsa*; N. /*amo*).
 5 67. 72. 89. 137.
 ^*an*. v. "to know" (Ms. V. ^*an*; *čan*; N. ≠*an*) subjunctive;
 ^*anna*. 6; causative ^*an* ^*an*, "to make known," 101;
 caus. reflex. ^*an* ^*ansin*, 3. 10. 13.
 n. ^*anna* (Ms. V. ^*anna*) "knowledge." 124.
 ^*au* ^*amme*. v. passive. "to be anointed" (cp. Ms. V. *au* ɾ*am*, <
 (?) ɾ*chau* "to smear" + ɾ*ama* "on"). 94. 96; pres. part.
 (-*hamb*). 93.
 ^*ums*. n. "soul" (Ms. V. √*ums*; E. *cums*, "asem"; N. /*oms*), see
 ^*geisa*.
 ^*garra* ^*garra* ɾ*kau*. v. comp. "to console" (Ms. V. ^*charra*
 ^*charra* ɾ*kau*; cp. N. /*kara* /*kara*, "verändern" + ≠*gao*,
 "wollen"). 145.
 ^*geisa*. adj. (Ms. V. ^*chei* ^*chei* "to bless"; ^*cheib* "glory"; N.
 /*kai*) in ^*geisa* ^*ums*, "the Holy Ghost" 24. 32. 76. 95.
 133. 135. 138. 140. 142. 147. In the last four, the click is
 either ' or ʘ.
 ^*goa*. postp. "with" (Ms. V. ^*choa*; N. /*ka*). 66. 95.
 ^*haub*. n. "church" (? ^*hao* ^*hao*, "to gather, to collect"; E.
chao; N. /*hao*, "zusammenkommen, sich sammeln"). 136.
 ^*keisa*. adj. "great" Ms. V. ^*kei*, "strong," ^*keib* *hoāb*, "Almighty";
 E. *cgai*; N. /*gei*). In ^*keisa* ʘ*kurru* •*aub*, "The Almighty
 Creator." 34; but ^*geisa*. 43.

ɾ

- ɾ*uñ*. v. "to eat" (Ms. V. ɾ*ũ*; E. *çũ*; N. ≠*ũ*). 63. 64. 68.
 ɾ*kau*. v. "to wish, want" (Ms. V. ɾ*kau*; E. *çgao*; N. ≠*gao*). See
 under ^*garru* ^*garra*.
 ɾ*kei*. v. "to call" (Ms. V. ɾ*kaii*; E. *çgai*; N. ≠*gei*). 143. 148. The
 click is ^ in 148.
 ɾ*kei*. •*aresina*. v. "to bind together" (Ms. V. ɾ*kei* ɾ*aresin*, "to league";
 N. ≠*gai*-/|*are*) 155. 156. 157. The click in the last two is
 uncertain.
 ɾ*ko*, ɾ 16.

- ᵐkora. v. "to judge" (Ms. V. ᵐkora; N. /gora) 84.
 ᵐkui. adj. "one only" (Ms. V. ᵐkui; E. cgui; N. /gui) 14. 19. 76.
 ᵐkuree. v. "to pray" (Ms. V. ᵐkurre, E. cgore; N. /gore) 106.
 ᵐnoaku. v. reciproc. "to quarrel" (Ms. V. ᵐnoaku; E. cnoagu; N. ≠noagu) 66.
 ᵐnosab. n. "King" (Ms. V. ᵐnosab; E. cnosab, < ᵐnũ. "to sit") 98.
 128. The click in seems to be ' .
 ᵐnu. v. "sit" (Ms. V. ᵐnũ; E. cñũ; N. ≠nũ), (-a) 83.

□

- ei. v. "to possess" (Ms. V. □eĩ; N. //ẽĩ) 56.
 □eiba. v. objec. "to threaten" (Ms. V. □eiba) 65.
 □eim. pro. pers. 3rd. masc. sing. (Ms. V. □eim; E. xâib; N. //ẽib)
 subj. (-kje) 130. 143. 144. 145. 146; obj. 12;
 pro. possess. "his." 49. 50. 51; (-ti). 131.
 □eina. 3rd. com. plur. (Ms. V. □eina; E. xâin; N. //ẽin). 52.
 Forming Ordinals. 27. 30. 47. 139; (-b) 80.
 □oo. v. "to die" (Ms. V. □ō; E. xō; N. //ō) 69. 79.
 n. "death" □oob (Ms. V. □ōb). 69. 70. 72. 81. 117. 137.
 adj. □oosa, "the dead." 4.
 □ga □gasin. v. causative reflex. "to learn" (Ms. V. □cha □gasin;
 E. xgaxga; N. //kha //kha) 3. 9. 12.
 □gawa. adv. "still, again" (Ms. V. □chawa, □gawa; E. xkaba; N.
 //kawa) 42. 83.
 □kau □nuam. n. "devil" (N. //gãuab). 117.
 □koab. in Cy □koab, which see.
 □na. pro. demons. "that" (Ms. V. □nab; E. xna; N. //na) 56. 58.
 62. 68.
 □na. v. "to say" (Ms. V. □na; E. xnā; N. //nā) 102.
 □naba. adv. "there" (Ms. V. □naba; E. xnaba; N. //naba) 83.
 □natiba. adv. "thus, so" (Ms. V. □nati, "so"; E. xnati; N. //nati) 118.
 □nau. v. "to hear" (Ms. V. □nāu; E. xnāu; N. //nōu). 16.
 □eib. n. "time" (Ms. V. □eib; cp. E. xaiose "gou," "sonder tyd";
 N. //aib) 67.
 □eisin ei. pro. reflex. 3rd. masc. sing. 110. The • is here incorrect.

□a. n. "part" (-dee) 153.

a. v. "to divide," in u □ae, passive (Ms. V. u □a, "to halve, to
 disperse"; E. ũ-qā; N. ũ-!a) 153.

- ʘam. in *bi ʘam*, "head" (Ms. V. *biām*, "head"; Appleyard p. 13.
bi 'kam, "head"; cp. Cape Hottentot of Witsen's list: Cape
 Monthly, iii, p. 38, *biquaān*) 157.
- ʘoa. postp. "to, against" (Ms. V. ʘoa ʘoa, "to contradict"; N. !oa)
 80. 81. See also ʘgo ʘoa.
- ʘoam. n. "arm" (Ms. V. ʘuām; E. *xōab*; N. //ōab) 82.
- ʘannum. n. or adj. "holy, holiness"; (Ms. V. ʘannū; E. *qanu*; N.
 !anu) 55. 135. 136. Click badly formed in last two.
 v. causative ʘannu ʘannu, "to sanctify" (Ms. V. ʘannū
 annū) (sic) 146.
- ʘawa. v. "to ascend" (Ms. V. ʘawa; E. *qaba*; N. !awa) 82.
- ʘgaweeb. n. "punishment" (Ms. V. ʘkawēb; N. !gaweb) 65.
- ʘgeib. n. "place" (Ms. V. ʘcheib; E. *qkaib*; N. !kheis) in
ham ʘgeib ʘna, "in what respect"? 53.
- ʘgei. v. "to sanctify" (Ms. V. *chei*; E. N. /kai) 106.
- ʘgo ʘoae. v. passive "to be conceived" (Ms. V. ʘcho ʘoa,
 < ʘcho, "to receive" + ʘoa, "in"; E. *qkō-qoa*; N. !kho !oa) 76.
- ʘgub. n. "Lord, person" (Ms. V. *chūb*; N. !khūb) 17. 25. 27. 30. 76.
 140; plur. ʘgukua 19. 21. 22; ʘguku (ka) 22.
- ʘhannumb. n. "righteousness" (Ms. V. ʘhannūb; N. ≠hanu) 55.
- ʘhub •eib. n. "earth" (Ms. V. *hūb •eib*; E. *khub-χaib*; N. !hūb-eib)
 1. 35. 163.
- ʘkaue. v. passive, "to be crucified" (Ms. V. ʘka, but N. !gōu) 79.
- ʘkurru. v. "to create." See under *kurru*.
- ʘkūaga. v. "to descend" (Ms. V. ʘkōacha; E. *xgōa*; N. !gōaχa) 80.
- ʘna. postp. "in, on" (Ms. V. ʘna; E. *qnā*; N. !na) 20. 55. 56. 58. 60.
 83. 139. 153. 158.
- ʘna ʘna. v. causative, "to enlighten" (Ms. V. ʘnā ʘnā; E. *qnāqnā*;
 N. !nā !nā) 144.
- ʘnami. n. "side" (Ms. V. ʘnamma; N. !nami) in ʘnami •ei (also. Ms.
 V.) "on the side of, in the place of, concerning" 40. 120.
- ʘnanni. adj. numer. "six" (Ms. V. ʘnānni; E. *qnani*; N. !nani) 47.
- ʘnaue. v. passive "to be buried" (Ms. V. ʘnau; E. *qnau*) 79.
- ʘneisa. adj. "old" (Ms. V. ʘneisa; E. *cnaisa*; N. /neisan) 155.
- ʘnona. adj. numer. "three" (Ms. V. ʘnona; E. *qnona*; N. !nona).
 21. 30. 80. 139.
- ʘoassin. in *o ʘoassinba*, "to select for, to choose for" (Ms. V. has
 •oa ʘoassi, "to select," •oa, "to choose," +? and *u ʘoassi*,
 "to elect" and *u ʘoassi*, "to take out," < *u*, "to take" +
 ʘoassi. The right click is ʘ. There is evidently some
 confusion here. The -n is incorrect. N. *ū*, "nehmen" + ≠oa,
 "hinausgehen") 113.

- ☉*uree*. v. "to sin" (Ms. V. \neg orrē; N. //ore) in ☉*uree* •*auna*, "sinners" 163. (Ms. V. \neg orrē; •*aub*, "sinner").
n. ☉*ureeb* (Ms. V. \neg orrēb). 61. 62. 117. 124. 125. 126. 136;
plur. ☉*ureeku* 112.

' (Doubtful click)

- '*hannung*. adj. "true, right" (Ms. V. \neg hannū; N. \neq hanu) 14.
'*hoam*. n. "message, news" (Ms. V. \neg hoām; E. ϕ hōab; N. \neq hōas) 149. 150. 161; (-*ba*) 162.
'*humi*. n. "heaven" (Ms. V. \neg humma; E. *chumi*; N. /homi) 35. 81.
'*kannim*. n. "book" (Ms. V. \neg kannim, \wedge kanim; E. ϕ kanis; N. \neq kanis) 11. 13. 152. 153.
'*kaie* '*kaue*. adj. "glad" (Ms. V. \neg kaīcha \neg kau; but \neg kāia \neg kau, "to rejoice" E. ϕ kāi, "tevrede," but ϕ gāi "aaŋgenaam" ϕ gēxa- ϕ gao, "plesierig"; N. !gāia \neq gao) 161. 162.
'*kam*. adj. numer. "two" (Ms. V. \vee kam; E. *cgam*; N. /gam) 27. 155.
'*kui* adj. numer. "one," "only" 6. 17. 70. See also under \neg kui.
n. '*kuib* "reunion" 136.
'*kui*. v. "to sacrifice" (Ms. V. \sqcup kuyb; cp. E. *xgoa*, "lê"; N. //guibas) 106; reflex (*sin*); n. '*kuiba*, "sacrifice" 107.
'*kum*. v. "to believe" (Ms. V. \neg kumm; E. ϕ gum; N. \neq gom) 34. 75. 122. 135.
n. '*kuma*, "belief, faith" (Ms. V. \neg kumma) 123.
adj. '*kumsana*, "the faithful" 131.

Note: There is one last word written '*on* (v.); \neg kona, •kona, n. "name" (Ms. V. \wedge onna, n. "name"; E. *cons*, and *conna*; N. /ons). 22. 90. 92 which definitely shows hesitation on the part of Wuras.

POSTSCRIPT. Meinhof's thorough treatise "*Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*," Berlin, 1930, reached me after the completion of my Ms. I was therefore unable to take advantage of its rich store of information. A few points may, however, be noted. The facts recorded in it are in full accordance with the usage of the Catechism, thus vindicating once more Wuras' accuracy (e.g., the presence of the ejective velar affricate after clicks, not noted by Engelbrecht \neg eib=M. //k χ 'aeb; the use of the noun particle -*bi*, of the verb particles -*na*, -*kje*ha, -*ta*; of *ta o* in conditional clauses; of the present particle in relative clauses). Where the two usages differ (e.g., the absence of the velar element after the click and the bilabial fricative, etc.) the differences may be due to the fact that Meinhof's informant belonged to the /hōa //aib

(Cat tribe) while the tribes living in Bethany were the *-amm -oam* (Right Arm) of Goliath Yzerbek and that of the *-arre -oam*. In one or two instances, I have found striking confirmation of my new interpretations: e.g., *bi -am*, "head" = M. *bi !'äb*; *timiha* cp. M. / §73, who aptly compares the expression to Lat. *inquat*. His record of *thi k' amme*, "erragen. duiden"; *Thi- oab*, "Gott" etc. has confirmed me in the views already expressed or thrown fresh light.

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE !XAM BUSHMEN

From material collected by

Dr. W. H. I. BLEEK and Miss L. C. LLOYD between 1870 and 1880

Edited by D. F. BLEEK

Part I. BABOONS

Dictated by Diä!kwāin, a Bushman from the Katkop hills

*/hu/hu -||kwaŋ ≠kakkən /xam,
≠kakkən ku:i !xwāŋ /xam-ka-!k'e.*

Baboons speak Bushman,
speak sounding like Bushmen.

*Itən ||nau, io -toā he, o he:
≠kakkən ||na, itən ka, i siŋ -≠i:
ti e: !k'e kwitən e: |au ||na, o
i: k''auki ≠enna he.*

When we hear them talking there,
we are apt to think that other
people are to be found there,
though we did not know of them.

*Ti e: i |ne |nī: he i:, hiŋ e:
i ||k'oən, ti e: /hu/hu -oā -dā
e:, ||kakkən ku:i !xwān !k'e.*

When we catch sight of them,
then we see that they were ba-
boons talking like people.

*ŋ o:ā kaŋ a: siŋ ≠kakka he,
ti e: /hu/hu ≠kakken /xam.*

My father was the one who
told me that baboons speak
Bushman.

*ŋ !kōiŋ !xu:gen-dikən ||xam siŋ
≠kakka he, ti e: /hu/hu ≠kakkən
/xam.*

My grandfather !xu:gen-dikən
also told me that baboons speak
Bushman.

*Haŋ ||xam ≠kakka he, ti e: /hu/hu
k''auki ||ke:||ke:ja tswəŋ kwiten,
ta: he |ki he-ka |ka:gən; hiŋ ||xam
||ke:||ke:ja !k'e.*

He also told me that baboons
are not like other things, for they
have their wives; they also re-
semble people.

*N !kōiŋjaŋ ≠kakka he, ti e:
/hu/hu !num tā: s²o:-|ā-ka ||kha
o ha -|wain; ha @ho-@pwakən a:
≠kakka ha ā: tikəntikən e:, ha
k''auki ≠enna he.*

My grandfather told me that a
baboon holds a stick of s²o:-/ā⁽¹⁾
in its mouth; this little stick tells
it about things which it does not
know.

He tikən e:, ha ka /ku !xwǎŋ ha:
 ≠enn akka, o ha s²o:-/ǎ-ka //khakən
 /ku e: ≠kakkən ha ǎ:.

He tikən e:, ha ≠enna i:.

/xam-ka /k²e kay ke: /ki /hiŋ
 /hu/hu-ka s²o:-/ǎ, e: ha tā: he o
 ha /wain, he se /ki/ki he.

Ta he /ki /k'e:, ti e:, si /nō
 k''au //k'o'en, ti e:, /hu/hu //nau,
 ha /kamainja ha: s²o:-/ǎ-ka //kha,
 haŋ k''auki tā: ha; ha k''auki tā:
 ti e: ha tāŋ; o ha: //kha, haŋ a:
 /k²ōāse ha o tikəntikən e: ka he
 di ha; ha: s²o:-ǎ/-ka //khakən e:
 ≠kakka ha ǎ:, /a: a: /kam sa ha.

He ha //xam /ne tā: ha !kauügən i:;
 ha !kauü kay /ne di kuī tay, ha
 /hami, o s²o:-/ǎ-ka //khagən e:
 /ki si /hami !hami ha.

Ta: ha !kauügən /ku tay /hami o
 /k'e: a: a, ha !kauü kay k''auki
 tay, ti e:, he ta /kwē.ǎ tā, i:.

Ta: ha !kauügən //nau, tā:-tā: a:;
 ha tā-i: ha !kauükən ǎ:, tikən /ku
 tay, ti /ko!ōǎŋ se /tai //kaitja,
 o //kōiŋ ka ti e.

Ta: ha !kauügən /ku k''auki tā ti e:;
 he ka /kwē: i tā, i:; ta ha k''auki
 tā ≠hannü ha ≠kauügən, o /k'e: a.

S²o:-/ǎŋ /ku a: /kwē.ǎ /kwǎŋ di ha
 !kauügən, o s²o:-/ǎŋ /ki ≠enn≠enn
 ha, ha se ≠enn.

He tikən e:, /hu/hu e ts²a a:
 k''auki ka ha se /ku /ku:kən.

Ta: ha /km ≠enna, ti e: he kiē: se
 sé ha; haŋ /ku //nau, /ku:kən, haŋ

That is why it seems to under-
 stand them well, because that stick
 of s²o:-/ǎ has talked to it about
 them.

These things are what it knows.

Bushmen always take out the
 baboon's s²o:-/ǎ, which it has laid in
 its cheek, that they may keep it.⁽²⁾

For they say, do we not see that
 when a baboon is carrying that
 stick of s²o:-/ǎ, it does not feel
 pain; it does not feel when it is ill,
 for that stick is what protects it
 from the things which want to
 attack it; that stick of s²o:-/ǎ tells
 it that danger is approaching it.

And it also feels its body be-
 cause of this; its body feels as if it
 were afraid, because the stick of
 s²o:-/ǎ has taught it fear.

For its body feels afraid at that
 time, its body does not feel as it is
 wont to do.

For when its body has this
 feeling, something is happening,
 something ugly will walk past on
 that day.

For its body does not feel as it
 usually feels, it does not feel com-
 fortable at that time.

The s²o:-/ǎ is doing this to its
 body, in order to teach it to know.

Therefore the baboon is a thing
 that does not want to die.

For it knows what is coming to
 it, it feels like this about death, it

*/ku ʔenna ha ; ta: ha /ki k''auki ka
ha se /ku :ku:kən.*

knows it ; for it is not willing to die.

*He tikən e:, mama-gu ka siŋ //nau,
/hu/hu !xa-ka /kukən, mama ʔnau,
si: /na taŋtaŋ, mama /k'e: tata,
mama kuku, mama /k'e:ja tata ā:,
tata kway //a //k'o'en, ti e:, ha /nō
k''au se /nī /hu/hu ; ha se /kha /hu-
/hu, ha /ki sa: mama ā: /hu/hu /khu,
mama se //hiŋ /ki /e: he o /nū, si se
!kha: //kho ha, o /hu/hu /khuwa:
/e: ta: !nū.*

Therefore our mothers used to say this of a baboon's mane hair, if our heads ached, mother called father, mother spoke, mother told father to go and look if he could see a baboon, he must kill the baboon, he must bring mother the baboon's hair, that she might tie it up with sinew, for us to put (the string) on with the baboon's hair in it.

*Mama se da: si ā: ʔkann, si
se/kha: //kho /hu/hu /khu ; ta:
/hu/hu e ts'a a: k''auki taŋtaŋ; ta:,
ha ka ʔuŋ o ha //na, o ha k''auki
tā: taŋtaŋ.*

Mother would make us a charm of it for us to wear the baboon's hair, for a baboon is a thing that does not feel ill ; for it lives long where it is without feeling pain.

*Ta, ti e:, he: da: ha, /ku e:, ha
ka /ne /nī taŋtaŋ, ī: . Haŋ e ts'a
a: //nau, ha /nī: taŋtaŋ, itən /ku
ʔenn akka, ti e:, taŋtaŋ a: k''auki
ta //kaitən ha a:, ha /nā: ha.*

But when illness attacks it, it is very ill. It is a thing of which we know well that if illness seizes it, that illness will not be lifted, but will get it.

He tikən e:, ha ʔ//kway /ku:kən ī: .

Then it will die.

*Ta:, ha /ki e ts'a a: o k''auki siŋ
/ku tā:ī: taŋtaŋ; ta, ha ka /ku
//na, o ha k''auki tā: ha ti e:, ha
eŋeŋjā: taŋ; ta:, ha ka /ku //na, o
ha: k''auki tā: taŋtaŋ.*

For it is a thing which usually does not feel ill ; for it lives without its body feeling pain ; it lives without suffering illness.

*Ta, ti e:, taŋtaŋ /ne /nī: ha, ī:,
he e:, i -//kway ʔenna, ti e:, ha
//khoā /nā taŋtaŋ -!kerri.*

But when illness does seize it, then we know that it is a severe illness.

He tikən e:, ha -//kway /ne -ku:kən.

Therefore it dies.

*He tikəu e:, tata-gu ka siŋ //nau,
o he: /nā: /hu/hu, o ha: -/ku:kən
ta:, he //nau, o he /k'e: ja he
/ka: gən ā:, he kuku, he tu: tu he*

Therefore our fathers do this when they have seen a baboon lying dying, they talk to each other about it, they ask each other,

|ka: gən, tsʔa _ka: a: da: |hu|hu,
he ha -|ku: kən ta: ti e: ā?

"What can have happened to the
baboon that it lies dying there?

-||ka! |hu|hu e tsʔa a: _dɔā |ku:kən.

See! The baboon is a thing
that can die.

Ta:, ti e:, ha |nā: taŋtaŋ a:
|gi: ja, he |ku e:, ha ka |ku: kən, i:.

For when it gets a bad illness,
then it dies."

|hu|hu kaŋ ka |ku ||nau, ha:
k''auki |na: i, ha |ku ||nau, ha
|na: i, ha |ku !kwi: i |kē.

A baboon acts like this, though
it has not seen us before, yet when
it catches sight of us, it calls our
names.

Tija |ku |xwāŋ, ha ≠enna i |kē, o
ha: |na io.

It seems as if it knows our
names, when it sees us.

Ha k''auki siŋ |na i, ta: ha |km a:
≠enna i kē.

It has not seen us, but it knows
our names.

Han |ku ||nau, itə n ki _tai, |kāā
!ahá: hē: ti, haŋ ||nau, haŋ |k'e: ja
!kʔe kwitən ā:.

When we merely walk past here,
it does this, it tells others about it.

Haŋ kuī, " !kwi a: |kē |kwē: i-da,
ha kaŋ kiē: |ke: !ahá.

It says, "The person whose
name is so-and-so is passing there.

Haŋ ||khoā !kuītən ||a: o ha-ka
neiŋ."

He seems to be returning home."

ŋ oā kaŋ siŋ ≠kakka ke, ti e:, ŋ
||nau, !gauē-tukən, o ka: ki tu: i
|hu|hu, o |hu|huwa |k'e:-ā ki
!ahá: o ŋ, ŋ _kɔ-ɔ k''auki ≠kakkən
hī |hu|hu; ta: ŋ ||khoā kaŋ
-≠i:, ti k''au ka, siŋ ||nau,

My father used to tell me, that
if in the early morning I heard a
baboon calling to me as I went
past, I must not talk with the
baboon, for I should think that
the place would not be as it had

*o ka: ≠kakkən hĩā /hu/hu, tikən
/ku ka, tja sɨŋ k''wāŋ, ti !kauro,
ti e:, ɣ !han /kam //a: hē.*

*Ta: /hu/hu /ki k''auki e //ē:ĩ !kwi,
o i ≠kakkən hĩ ha, o !gauē tukən,
o itən /kam //a: !kauxu.*

*Ta:, i-g //nau, i: -toā /hu/hu, o ha:
/k'e:-ā /ki ahá: o i, itən //nau, i:
/k'e:ja !kuko: ā:, itən /ku i: kuku:i,
itən /k'e:ja ha ā:, " !khou !ahí
ta: -!k'au, ha kaŋ !xwā: //na ti e:
ā ; ta:, a /ku a: tu:i, ti e: hē !kē:
ā //na ti e: ā."*

*I /ku-g //nau, i: /k'e:ja !kuko: ā:,
i k''auki //xā: i ≠kakkən /ki/ki ha
/kē, o iten ki tu:i ha,; ta:, i /ku
k''wāŋ, i k''auki tu:i ha, o ha /k'e:-
ā /ki !ahá: o i.*

*Ta: i /ku tauko tai, o haŋ ki
/k'e:-ā /ki !ahá: o i.*

*Ta:, ts^a a: k''auki ka ha se o /nĩ i,
ha se //k'oen xu: tu i, ha /ki e ; ta:,
ha //nau, ha /nĩ: i haŋ /ku,
≠kakkən hĩ i, o ha /na: i ; o haŋ
ka, i se ≠kakkən hĩ ha.*

*Hē tikən e:, ha ≠kakkən-ĩ: i, o ha
/na i.*

*Haŋ //ke/keja !khwā: opwa a
k''ējā, ha xarra ka //nau, ha: /na:
i, ha /ku k''ēnk''ēn i ; ha xarra
k''wēā i, o ha: k''wē !kerru i.*

been before I talked with the baboon, the place at which I hunted would resemble a burnt place.

For a baboon is not a good person, if we talk to it in the early morning, as we go to the hunting ground.

So if we hear a baboon speaking to us as we go past, if we tell another about it, we merely say to him: "Hipbone is sitting on the saltpan, is making a noise there, for thou canst hear them chattering there."

When we have told the other about it, we do not again mention its name, although we hear it, but we act as if we did not hear it speak to us as we pass.

We walk past, even if it speaks to us as we pass.

For it is a thing which does not merely want to see us, to look and leave us; but if it catches sight of us, it talks to us as long as it sees us, for it wants us to talk to it.

Therefore it is talking to us whenever it sees us.

It is like a little child who teases, it always does so when it sees us, it mocks us; it always goes on like that, as if it were deceiving us.

/hu/hu a: !ahí //khoā kunno o
 ha !khou xu, itən !hamī, i /kwē:ī
 ku, i /k'e:, o intən ta: //ka ti e:
 i //nau, o i: !kwi: ja ha /kē e:, ha
 /ki kunno, o ha !khou, o i /k'e: ja,
 'hu/hu: !khou-ka ≠nwa:', haŋ
 /ku ≠enna, ti e:, i /k'e: ha !khou.

He tikən e:, !k²e ka /ku !kwi:
 kuī !xwāŋ, ha /kē k''auki e:, !k²e
 !kwi: he, o haŋ ka, /hu/huwa: siŋ
 ka, ha: ≠i:, ha-ha k''auki a:, !k²e
 /k'e: ha.

Ta:, !k²e /ku ≠kakkən tŋweŋ e:
 /xara, !k²etən //kwaŋ /k'e: ha, ha
 a: /hu/hu, o !k²etən ta: //ka ti e:,
 he-ka ≠kakkən e:, he !kwi /k'i
 /hu/hu /kē i:, ti /ku ka, ti ja siŋ
 k'' waŋ /hu/hu toā, ti e: i ≠kakkən
 /ki ha.

When the baboon puts its paw (?) to the front of its hipbone, we are afraid to speak, for we know that if we say the name (of the thing) which it is touching, if we say, "the end of the baboon's hipbone," it knows that we are speaking of it, the baboon, that we are speaking of its hipbone.

Therefore people speak as if its name were not what they were talking of, for they want the baboon to think, people are not speaking of it.

For people mention different things, although they refer to it, the baboon, for the people know that if their talk mentions the baboon's name, it seems as if the baboon hears that we are talking of it.

I e: /xam-ka !kwi, i kaŋ //nau,
 !kwiŋ!kwiŋ //khauka /hu/hu, hiŋ
 /ne //aŋ //xarra //kho /hu/hu o
 !kau.

/hu/hukən /ne //kau siŋ !xuru, o
 haŋ ka !kwiŋ!kwiŋ k''auki se /ka-ā
 ha, o haŋ dattən !kwiŋ !kwiŋ.

Ha se //nau, !kwiŋja ka ha //kaitən
 !ke //e ha, ha se /kā-ā !kwiŋ ha se
 !kən txeŋ ho !kwiŋ tū:.

I //nau, i //k'o'en, ti e:, /hu/hu-
 !karrokən !kwiŋ, i ku, "kwi-/a-ka
 !kwiŋjaŋ tuko /ku /ke, a !karrokən
 /ke."

We who are Bushmen are accustomed to do this when the dogs chase baboons and drive them away from the mountain.

A baboon sits on a boulder, thinking that the dogs will not catch it, if it deceives them.

It will wait until the dog comes up to it, it will catch the dog and tear off the dog's skin.

When we see that a baboon has seized a dog, we say, "It is a girl's dog that you have seized there."

/hu/hu /ku //nau, ha: -toä, ti e:, i
 ≠kakka ha ä:, ti e:, !kwi-/a-ka
 !kwiŋ e, haŋ k''auki se //xä: ha
 !karrokən !kwiŋ.

When the baboon hears us say that it is a girl's dog, it does not seize the dog again.

Ta:, ha /ku-g /ne k''wāŋ ha
 !hami !kwiŋ, haŋ k''auki //k'oēn
 //k'oēn //wē:ī !kwiŋ.

For it seems to be afraid of the dog, it does not look straight at it.

Ta:, ha /ku !kwaitən tau //k'oēn
 !kwiŋ, haŋ k''auki //k'oēn//k'oēn
 //wē:ī !kwiŋ!kwiŋ; ta:, ha /ku
 k''wāŋ !k''werritən !kwiŋ!kwiŋ, o
 ha -toä ti e:, i ≠kakka ha ä, ti e:,
 /kwi-/a-ka !kwiŋ e.

For it looks sideways at the dog, it no longer looks straight at the dogs; for it seems to be ashamed of them, when it has heard us say, that is a girl's dog.

Ha /ku //koä:kən !hami xu tu
 !kwiŋ, o ha -toä, ti e:, !kwi-/a-ka
 !kwiŋ hā e.

It is very much afraid and leaves the dog alone, when it hears that it had been a girl's dog.

Itən /ku daudau ha, o itən ka, ha
 k''auki se !kan txeri /hiŋ !kwin, o
 ha tū:.

We deceive it, because we do not want it to tear off the dog's skin.

Hāŋ //kwōŋ !hum i, o i ≠kakka
 ha a:.

It believes us when we speak to it.

Haŋ //nau ha !karrokən-ī: !kwiŋ,
 haŋ /ku i: daudau !kwiŋ; haŋ
 k''auki ≠ī:, ti e:, ha ka ha /kha
 !kwiŋ; ta:, ha /ku i: !he /ki /hiŋ-
 tuī !kwiŋ o ha, !kwiŋ k''auki se sé
 ha.

It pretends that in snatching at the dog, it is merely playing, it does not mean to kill the dog, for it is just holding off the dog, not letting it come too near.

Tija siŋ k''wāŋ, ha-ká ha /kā-ā
 !kwiŋ, o haŋ /ku i: /ki-si !hami
 !hami !kwiŋ, o haŋ ka !kwiŋja
 siŋ !hami ha.

Although it seems to seize the dog it is merely making the dog afraid, for it wants the dog to fear it.

Haŋ /ku k''wāŋ ha -//ä !kwiŋ, kaŋ
 /km //k'i-/k'i-ī: !kwiŋ.

It seems as if it smelt the dog, it laughs gently at the dog.

Tata kay ≠kakka ke, ti e:, η
||nau, o ka: |ka: |hu|hu, η ||nau
!gwara, η syritənsyritən ||kho
twitwi:tən-əpwonni o η-ka |hau
!nu!nuntu.

Ta:, tata |ki |k'eja ke, ti e:, |hu|hu
||khēi||kheū⁽³⁾ e:, η didi ||kho he o
|hau, |hu|hu ||khēi||khēi-jā: siη
||na |hau.

Ta:, tata |ki ≠kakka ke, ti e:,
|hu|hu ||nau, o ka: k'auki syritən-
syritən ||khoā twitwi:tən o |hau, ha
ts²axáu-ka ||kaurukən |ku |e: tiη
i-ta |hau, o i: |ka: ha.

He tikən e:, i ||kho||kho twitwi:teη
o i-ta |hau o itən ka |hu|hu ts²axáu-
ka ||kaurukən se |hiη tu i-ta |hau.

Ta:, tata |ki ≠kakka ke, ti e:,
|hu|hu-ka !k'augən |ku ||nei||nei:
i-ta |hau, o i: k'auki -taba |hiη
toā he, o i-ta |hau.

Ta:, tata |ki ≠kakka ke ā:, ti e:,
η |nō k'au ||k'oən, ti e:, |hu|hu ka
||nau, o i ka: ha, haη -|kwa:gen⁽⁴⁾
||ke||ke: -!kwi, o haη ta: ||ka ti e:,
ha |ku ||xam -oā e -!kwi?

He tikən e:, ha-ka didi: |ku
!naunko ||ke||ke:ja -!kwi, o haη
ki e |hu|hu.

O !kwi |xu: |hu|hu o !nwa:, haη
||xam -≠i:, ti e:, ha ka ha ||xam
|ka !kwi; ta:, |kwi -||kwoη ||khoā
ka !kwi |ka ha.

Haη ||nau, !nwa: a: i |xā: ha ā:,
!nwa:η |ne ||keη s²o ha.

Father used to tell me that
when I had killed a baboon, I
must take an arrowhead and cut
fine lines round the points of my
bow.

For father used to say, that the
baboon's teeth⁽³⁾ were what I was
putting on my bow, the baboon's
teeth would be on my bow.

For father used to say that if I
did not cut fine lines round the
bow, the baboon's eyehollow would
be in our bows, when we had
killed it.

That is why we cut lines on our
bows, for we wish the baboon's
eyehollow to leave our bows.

For father used to tell me, that
the baboon's death would live in
our bows, if we did not cause it to
leave them.

For father said to me about it,
did I not see that a baboon acts
like this, if we kill it, its clouds⁽⁴⁾
resemble a man's, because it feels
that it too was once a man?

Therefore its actions are still
like a man's, although it is a ba-
boon.

When a man shoots a baboon
with an arrow, it thinks it would
also like to kill the man, because
he seems to be trying to kill it.

It takes the arrow with which
we shot it, which is sticking in it.

Haŋ ≠ke: |hiŋ !nwa: o ha, he ha
!kan -||kau tē !nwa o ha !kauru.

It pulls out the arrow from itself and lays it on its forearm.

!nwa:-ka ti ko:kən ||khoi ta: ha
|k'a: ko:.

The other part of the arrow lies in its other (right) hand.

Haŋ || nau, ha |k'a: k'am haŋ
_||kaō -||kau tē o ha !kauru, he
!nwa: |ku k'wāŋ !nwa: |hiŋ |hau;
!nwa:ŋ |ku swe:ŋ ||a: i.

It crosses its right hand over the forearm, and the arrow seems as if it were leaving a bow; the arrow goes flying towards us.

Tikən |ku k'wāŋ ha |xi: i o |hau.

It seems to be shooting at us with a bow.

Tata-gu:kən ≠kakka ke ŋ kō:ɔ
se ||nau ka: ||k'oen, ti e:, |hu/hu
≠ke: |hiŋ !nwa: o ha, haŋ !kan
||k'i: o !nwa:, ha kō: !kwe!kwe ||u:
ŋ, ŋ kō:ɔ se oroko |k'e: ha, ŋ se
|k'e:-ja ha ā:, ti e:, !kwi-|a-ka
!nwa: |ku e: ha !kanna, o i:.

The old men told me, that if I saw a baboon pull an arrow from itself and hold it fast as if it were aiming at me, I must speak to it quickly and tell it, that it was a girl's arrow that it was holding.

Haŋ |ku se ||nau, o ka: |k'e:-ja ha
ā:, ti e:, !kwi-|a-ka !nwa: e, haŋ
|ku se tē: !nwa:.

Then it would do this, when I had told it that it was holding a girl's arrow, it would lay the arrow down.

Tija kō: |ku k'wāŋ ha !k''werritən,
ha kō:ɔ |ku !kan |ki ||kho: ē ha
|na:, ha kō: |ku k'wāŋ ha !k''wer-
ritən i, o i: |k'e:-ja ha, ti e:, |kwi-
|a-ka !nwa: e.

It would seem to be ashamed, it would hang down its head, as if it were ashamed before us, when we told it that it was a girl's arrow.

Ha kō:ɔ |ku i: di !go: ē, tija: kō:
k'wāŋ, ha kaŋ ≠i:, ha _||kwaŋ
|ku se á hi ā:, i se _||kwa |ku |ka
ha.

It would merely make a sign as if it thought that it ought to let us kill it.

Ta:, i _||kwaŋ ||khoā ≠kauwa, ti
e: i ka, i |ka ha.

For we had seemed to want to kill it.

Mama-gu kaŋ ≠kakka ke, ti e:,
|hu/hu hā: oā e -!kwi, o ||k'e:
a: i-i e: |ne e !k'e, i k''auki oā
||na, ā:.

My parents used to say to me, that the baboons were once people at the time when we who are people were not here.

Ha ||k'hwi ||xam -oä e |kwi ä:, haŋ
a:, |hu|hu: -oä ||xau e !kwi ä:, o
ha: ||k'e:.

He tikən e:, si ||k'oen, ti e:, |hu|hu:
!kou-tu |kwāija ||k'hwi, o haŋ ta:
||ka ti e:, he |ki -oä e !k²e, he ko
||k'hwi.

He tikən e:, he-ka tikantikən
-|kwāija !k²e, o hiŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,
he -oä e !k²e. He tikən e:, he-ka
tikən-tikən -|kwāija !k²e, i:.

Mama-gukən ≠kakka si ā:, ti e:,
si-g |nō k'au tu.ī, ti e:, |hu|hu: di
kuī !xwāŋ !k²e o ≠gebbi-gu, hiŋ
!gum: kuī !xwāŋ |xam-ka !k²e, e:
!gum: |ki ≠gebbi-gu, o hiŋ ta: ||ka
ti e:, |xam-ka !k²e |ki |ka |ne !gum
||ke: ||ke: |hu|hu:; ta: |hu|hu: |ki
|ka a: ||xa: ||xa: !k²e o ≠gebbi-gu.

He tikən |nē e:, |xam-ka !k²e |ne
≠enna ≠gebbi-gu, i:, o hiŋ ta:
||ka ti e:, |hu|hu: |ki e:, !gum:
||xa: ||xa: he o ≠gebbi-gu, o ||k'e:
a: to.ī ||xam-oä !gum: ≠gebbi-gu ā:.

Ha ||k'e:tən a:, |hu|hu: ||xam-oä
!gum: ≠gebbi-gu ā:. -||khā: ||xam
-oä !gum: ≠gebbi-gu; ti e:, -||khā:
|ne -||ki: txəri to.ī ||hattən-tu, hiŋ
e:, he |ne xu: tuī ≠gebbi-gu, he
k''auki |ne -≠na: k'um: ≠gebbi-gu,
i:, he he |ne k''auki |ne !kuttən kuī
!xwāŋ ti e:, xam-ka !k²e |ne |kwē:ī
dakan !kuttən i:; o -||khā:, he ko
to.ī e: da: ≠gebbi-gu-ka |a:.

He tikən e:, he |ne |ka ||koākən
||nau, -||khā da: toī ā: |a:,
≠gebbi-guwa: |ka ||koākən |kiŋ tu

When the quagga also was a
person, then the baboon was like-
wise a person.

Therefore we see that the ba-
boon's belly resembles the quag-
ga's, for they feel that they were
once people, they and the quagga.

Therefore their parts resemble
humans, for they feel that they
are people. That is why their
parts smell of people.

Our parents asked us, did we
not hear that baboons make a
noise like people in the ≠gebbi-gu
game, they call sounding like
Bushmen who call making a
≠gebbi-gu, for they think that
Bushmen always call like baboons
because it was a baboon who
taught people the ≠gebbi-gu;.

That is how Bushmen come to
know the ≠gebbi-gu, because the
baboons used to call teaching
them the ≠gebbi-gu, at the time
when the ostrich also called the
≠gebbi-gu.

At that time the baboon also
called the ≠gebbi-gu. The lion
also called the ≠gebbi-gu; then the
lion kicked⁽⁵⁾ the ostrich tearing
his—, then they left off the
≠gebbi-gu, they no longer danced
the ≠gebbi-gu, and they no longer
sang it as the Bushmen are used
to sing it; because the lion and
ostrich had fought over the
≠gebbi-gu.

So when all this had happened,
when the lion had fought the
ostrich, the ≠gebbi-gu (tunes) left

he, he, he |ka-g |ne i:, di: @pwaitən,
o ti e:, he kwāŋ di: ≠gebbi-gu-ka
|a:, i:.

He tikən e:, |hu/hu: !naunko
_||kwakkən ||ke||keja !kwi. He
tikən e: |hu/hu: !naunko ≠kakkən,
haŋ di kuī !xwāŋ !kwi.

them and they became animals,
because they had fought over the
≠gebbi-gu.

That is why the baboon still
understands like a man. That is
why the baboon still speaks, he
sounds like a man.

|hu/hu: kaŋ ka ||nau ||ga:, he
||keo||ke ti e:, |xam-ka !k²e xarra
ka di he, he he ka ||nau ||ga:, he
di ≠gebbi-gu o ||ga:.

|hu/hu:kən ||ke||ke:ja |xam-ka
!k²e, he _tai ||k²e:, o ti e:, he kiē
!gum: |ki|ki ≠gebbi-gu, i:.

The baboons are accustomed
at night to imitate what the Bush-
men used to do, when they used
to play the ≠gebbi-gu at night.

The baboons imitate the Bush-
men, they come together at the
place where they mean to call the
≠gebbi-gu.

He |ne di ≠gebbi-gu; itən ka, i:
siŋ ka, i: ≠i:, |xam-ka !k²e e: di
|ki ≠gebbi-gu, i e: k²auki ≠enna,
ti e:, |hu/hu _||kwaŋ ≠enna
≠gebbi-gu, haŋ ||xam di ku:ī !xwāŋ
|xam-ka !k²e, o he di |ki ≠gebbi-gu.

They hold a ≠gebbi-gu; we
should think that Bushmen were
holding a ≠gebbi-gu, if we did not
know that the baboon also knows
the ≠gebbi-gu; it also acts as Bush-
men do when they hold a
≠gebbi-gu.

Hiŋ _||kwaŋ !kuttən ku:ī !xwāŋ
|xam-ka |ka: gən.

They sing sounding like Bush-
man women.

|hu/hu:gen e ts'a a: ||nau, |xam-
ka !k²e ||neinjā _oā !hiŋjā o !kau a:,
he _oā ||na ha; hiŋ kiē se ||nau, he:
_toā ti e:, |xam-ka !k²e siŋ di |ki
≠gebbi-gu, hiŋ tum-ī: ≠gebbi-gu a:
|xam-kā !k²e siŋ !kutta; hiŋ
|xam |ne !kut-tən ≠gebbi-gu a:
|xam-ka !k²e siŋ !kutta, hiŋ |ne
!kuttən kuī !xwāŋ ti e: !k²e siŋ
|kwē.ī dakən !kuttən ≠gebbi-gu, i:.

A baboon is a thing which acts
like this when Bushman huts are
near the rock where he lives; they
come to watch the Bushmen hold-
ing the ≠gebbi-gu, they listen to
the tune which the Bushmen sing;
they also sing the tune which the
Bushmen have sung, they sing
sounding as if it were people sing-
ing the ≠gebbi-gu.

Hiŋ _||kwaŋ tu:tu: he |ka:gən, o
ti e: !k²e |nō siŋ te: dakən !kuttən
≠gebbi-gu?

They ask each other whether
people are not singing the
≠gebbi-gu?

|hu/hu: kɔ:gən _||kwaŋ |ne -!kut-
ta !kʔe kuitən ā:, ti e:, !kʔe siŋ
!kwē.ĩ dakən -!kuttən ≠gebbi-gu, i:.

Han |ne -!kuttən !kaŋ-siŋjā |hu-
|hu: kuitən, o haŋ ka, |hu/hu: kuitən
se -!kuttən !kuŋ-siŋ ha, he se -!kut-
ten ku !xwāŋ, ti e:, !ku ko: |kwē.ĩ
dakən -!kuttən ≠gebbi-gu, i:.

Ta: |xam:ka !kʔe |ki ||xəm i:ja,
!kwi |aitji kɔ:, haŋ ||na, haŋ _mai-
i haŋ -!kutta !kʔe kuitən ā:, o haŋ
ka, !kʔe kuitən se -!kuttən !kuŋ-siŋ
ha, o !kʔe kuitən ta: ||ka ti e:, ha
|ki a ≠enna ≠ge≠gebbitən-gukən-
gukən:

He tikən e:, ha !kum:, haŋ -!kut-
ta !kʔe kuitən, o haŋ ta: ||ka ti e:,
!kʔe kuitən |ki k''auki ≠enna, ti e:,
he se |kwē.ĩ|kwē he -!kuttən ≠geb-
bigu ||ka _||kāüŋ, i:.

Ta: |xam-ka !kwi-/aitji kɔ: |ki
ka ||na, ha: ||xa:||xa: !kʔe kuitən
o ≠gebbi-gu.

One baboon sings to the others
as people do when they sing the
≠gebbi-gu.

He sings before the other ba-
boons, for he wants the other
baboons to sing after him, that
they may sing as he does when he
sings the ≠gebbi-gu.

For Bushmen also do this, one
woman stands there and sings
first, she leads the others as she
wants them to sing after her, for
the others think that she is one
who knows the ≠gebbi-gu tunes.

That is why she first sings to
the others, for she thinks that the
others do not know how they
ought to sing the change of the
≠gebbi-gu.

For one Bushman woman is al-
ways there to teach the others the
≠gebbi-gu.

!kwi-/aitji a: !kʔe -oā !kwi: ha
|kē o Natta, hā kaŋ -oā -!kuttən kuĩ
!xwāŋ, ti e: !gei ||kwa||kwarra ka
|kwē.ĩ da i:, o he _||gauē !gei-ta
!kaukən.

Tija: -!kēi ||au, he !xwāŋ !gei
||kwa||kwarra ha: !xwāŋ ti e !gei
||kwa||kwarra ka |kwē.ĩ da, i:, o he:
_||karrokən |kam ||a: !khwa:.

Ha _dɔm-ka ti kɔ:-wa !xwāŋ ti e:,
kottən ka |kwē.ĩ da, o he: |kwaija,
o he: ka he k''wā.

Haŋ a: -oā ||xa:||xa: !kʔe.

A woman whom people called
by the name of Natta used to sing
calling as the ewes do when they
seek their lambs.

It really sounded just like the
call of a ewe that is hurrying to
her young.

Another part of her throat
sounded as partridges do when
they go in flocks to drink.

She was the one who taught the
people.

(¹)*sʔo:-/ã* is a plant with a red top and long roots which grows in sand, in or near dry river beds; it is used as a medicine or charm.

(²)*Diã!kwāin*'s father, *xaä-tiŋ*, told him that the *sʔo:-/ã* lay in the baboon's left cheek.

(³)*!gwāin ||xam i:ja. Itən ||xam* (³)With the hyena it is the same.
||nau, i |ki: !gwāi, itən ||xam didi When we kill a hyena, we also put
||kho twitwi:tən-ka !kaukən, o itən little lines, in order to take the
di, |ki |hiŋ-tu:i !gwāi-ta ||k'o:ākən hyena's curse off our bows, for we
o i-ta |hau, o itən ka !gwāi-ta want the hyena's actions not to be
didi:ja: k''auki siŋ |'na i-ta |hau. on our bows.

(⁴)Compare *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p. 397. Men make clouds when they die.

(⁵)Compare *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p. 127. The Lion jealous of the Voice of the Ostrich.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

The folklore published here was collected between 1870 and 1880 by the late Dr. Bleek and the late Miss L. C. Lloyd. It was taken down from the dictation of a number of !Xam Bushmen, that is members of the tribe living south of the Orange River. Some part of their collections was published in 1911 under the title *Specimens of Bushmen Folklore*, Allen & Co., London; the translation of some further tales was published in 1923 under the title *The Mantis and His Friends*, Maskew Miller, Cape Town, but much remains unknown to the public. I wish to publish here in instalments the information concerning the beliefs and customs of these people. The text is given as dictated, using the orthography of the International Phonetic Association, excepting for the clicks, for which the ordinary symbols used in Bushman and Hottentot writings are employed. High and low tones are indicated by high and low dashes before the syllable. The translation is as literal as possible.

This number shows the Bushman's beliefs concerning baboons and his methods of dealing with them. The dividing line between mankind and the animal world is never very deep with the little hunters, it is therefore not surprising that they attribute to baboons many human characteristics. In doing so they give us insight into their own frame of mind, their respect for a girl's belongings, their belief in the sensations of the body foretelling danger, and in the body turning into clouds after death.

The next number will contain their beliefs and customs with regard lions and other animals.

HISTORY AND IZIBONGO OF THE SWAZI CHIEFS

By P. A. W. COOK, M.A., B.Ed.

(The material for this paper was collected during a visit to Swaziland in 1929, which was undertaken with the assistance of a grant from the School of African Life and Languages, University of Cape Town. To Dr. T. T. Barnard, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Cape Town, and to the officials of the Swaziland Administration my grateful thanks are tendered for their unfailing help and kindness.)

THE HISTORY OF THE SWAZIS

The information contained in this paper on the history of the Swazi Chiefs was obtained from a number of old men summoned by the Paramount Chief, Sobhuza. They met under the chairmanship of the Paramount Chief's Secretary. Two meetings were held. At the first there was so much disagreement over the genealogies of the chiefs and the events which took place during their reigns that these aged authorities decided to hold a private meeting in order to arrive at some unanimity in their opinions. At the second meeting the information given below was repeated with complete agreement by all present, and it may therefore be taken as a reliable guide to contemporary expert opinion, if not as an embodiment of authentic historical truth.

In the Report on Swaziland for 1921 it is stated that "The genealogy of the Swazi Kings is traced through twenty-one names to Umatalatala, who is most probably a legendary person. Under his son Mswazi I the Swazis are said to have migrated eastward from South Tongaland to the country now forming part of Southern Swaziland."

The name of Umatalatala was completely unknown to any of my informants, who supplied the following genealogical list of the Swazi Kings :—

Mavuso I
Ludonga I
Dhlamini I
Ngwane I
Ndungunya I

Somhlolo (Sobhuza) I
 Mswazi (Mavuso II)
 |
 Ludonga II Mbandini (Dhlamini II)
 Bhunu (Ngwane II)
 Sobhuza II

It will at once be noticed that the chiefs are named from the names Mavuso, Ludonga, Dhlamini, Ngwane, Sobhuza taken in rotation, except in the case of Ndungunya. My Swazi informants, although aware of this rule, were unable to explain the exception ; one suggested that Sobhuza should have been named Ndungunya.

Of Mavuso I nothing is known beyond the fact that he lived on the eastern side of the Ubombo range. Ludonga and Dhlamini also lived on the same side of this range.

Ngwane was the first chief to move into the country we now know as Swaziland. Driven out of his old habitat by the warlike amaNdwandwe, he crossed the Ubombo Mountains, fell upon the BaSotho under Mhlangala, a subject of Sekukuni, and succeeded in establishing himself at Old Zombode near Hlatikulu.

Ngwane was succeeded by Ndungunya, who continued to live near Eiselweni in the Hlatikulu district.

Somhlolo or Sobhuza moved further north and built his kraal at Lobombo, on the Nokwane Hill in the Bremersdorp District. Mswazi, his successor, was born at Udzidzi, but when he became chief moved further north and made his headquarters at Hoho in the Piggs Peak District. He spent most of his reign in waging fierce wars against the people around him.

Just after the death of Somhlolo in 1839 the Zulus sent an army to invade the country of the Swazis. At Lubuya in the Hlatikulu district a fierce battle took place which lasted the whole day without either party gaining the advantage, although the Swazis in good order were pressed back near the Umkonto River. The next morning it was found that the Zulus, discouraged by the fierce carnage of the previous day, had fled. The leader of the Swazi army was Mgayi of the Fakude *isibongo*, while Masipula was the Zulu leader. The battle of Lubuya was won by the regiments of Somhlolo, as Mswazi had only just become king.

Among the Sotho peoples who were driven out or conquered by Mswazi the following are remembered :—

bakwaLewu,	under chief	Gama
„ Mahoyana,	„ „	Mabula
„ Mfuma,	„ „	Gaza
„ Maboko,	„ „	Mjadji
„ Matse,	„ „	?

Mswazi was severely defeated at Mshadje by the Sotho under Sekuku (Sekukuni). He died in 1863, according to the Swaziland Report of 1921, at the comparatively early age of forty-five years. His son Ludonga I, who succeeded him, did not reach maturity. Another son of Mswazi, Mbandini, became king in 1875.

In 1881 the independence of Swaziland was guaranteed at the Convention of Pretoria. The subsequent history of the country is of more interest politically than ethnographically, and need not therefore be discussed in this paper.

The reason why the Swazi people bear the name of amaSwazi or amaNgwane is due to the following facts: Ngwane and Mswazi were the first two chiefs who occupied the present country inhabited by the nation, and it is the usual custom of these people to name the country and themselves after the first chief to occupy the country.

There is a legend in connection with the amaSwazi which states that a party of them went north into Rhodesia and that a few of these marauders eventually made their way back again into Swaziland. After a most careful investigation I am unable to find any evidence in support of this story. One Fokota was driven out by Somhlolo for some offence and made his way as far as Simakade Hill near Piet Retief in the Transvaal. His son returned to Swaziland. My informants were of the opinion that this happening or similar occurrences had given rise to the story of a large migration to Rhodesia, which otherwise was quite groundless.

IZIBONGO OF THE SWAZI CHIEFS

Among the Swazis it was and still is the custom for certain men to compose and recite the praises of the chiefs. The *isibongo* of a chief was always known by his men, who would praise him for any act of generosity, in battle and in the chase. The praises were not recited in an ordinary voice, but were called out at the top of the voice in as rapid a manner as possible. Indeed, so rapidly are these *izibongo* called out that, from habit, those who know them are unable to say them slowly, and to write them down entails countless repetitions. Anyone who is not thoroughly familiar with a *sibongo* cannot possibly understand it, and even to a Swazi it is impossible to understand it the first time he hears it.

The *izibongo* have two characteristics which render them especially important to students of Swazi customs. Their form is permanent, and they abound in allusions to the important events in the lives of the chiefs so that they form invaluable historical evidence as well as giving in highly picturesque language a concept of the ideals and actions of the Swazi people. They have therefore literary, historical and even philosophical interest.

At the present time these *izibongo* are fast disappearing, and if it is a matter of extreme difficulty to find men who know them, it is even more difficult to find men who can interpret the highly-particularised allusions with which the *izibongo* abound.

In this paper it has been thought better to present the history of the Swazis as given by the Natives of the present day separately from the *izibongo* and the evidence we can glean from them. It will, however, be obvious that there are many facts and more suggestions to be found in the *izibongo* given below.

The texts have been divided quite arbitrarily into lines to suit my own convenience, for the *imbongi* pours forth his words without a single stop. Translations are as literal as possible, and they are made line for line with the texts. Numbers are given both in the texts and in the translations when references are made to notes.

In collecting these texts I was deeply indebted to David Dhlamini of the Zombode School, who gave most excellent assistance and who knows what a trying task it was to keep our *imbongi* from lapsing into slumber after starting off like a fire-engine a few times.

THE ISIBONGO
OF
BHUNU OR MAHLOKOHLE

- Ngwane usona nonani
Loku bahlaba nkomo baya nhlindzisana.
Ngiyitata pi inkabi engangoNgwane
Ngiyi kweze pezu kwa Mahlandhle
- 5 Umlomo ufik' ezulwini ?
Ngwane lulaka nekaya netafeni.
Mngce¹ kushe kube sehlobo
Kuye kusuke amalangabi.
Sihlangu sinombeke wenkomo.
- 10 Ngwane emanzini ngingamfanisa nesiziba,
Ngwane endhleleni ngingamfanisa nevundhlako,
Ngwane emitini ngingamfanisa nomnyamati,
Ngwane embuzini ngingamfanisa nesipongwana,
Ngiwane enkomeni ngingamfanisa nenshivazana.
- 15 Igoda lika Zombode² wa Magugu,
Loku liwa gil' amadoda amaqakala.
Umvemve³ wakiti ngeze ngaubek'emuzaneni,
Ngingaubeka ka Zombode wa Magugu.
Somehlomehlo⁴ Ngwane,
- 20 Ngwane, pani losemyango,
Losemsamo umtambekele.
Umbhabha⁵ ngajozi lake.
Nkomo zapel' izintselo ziye emzini wako waseMpondweni.⁶
Uyadela mfazi waka Mhola,⁷
- 25 Walibuka ijaka lika Ndaba.⁸
Inyoni edhalela amahubeni⁹ ezintaba
Wesuka wahlala pezu komtando.

BHUNU (MAHLOKOHILA)

(N.B. The translation given below is made line by line according to the text and is a literal translation).

- What wrong does Ngwane do ?
 They slay cattle and give to each other.
 Where can I find an ox that is as big as Ngwane ?
 Which I can place on the top of Mount Mahlandhle
 5 So that the mouth may reach the heavens.
 Ngwane is as cruel at home as he is in the open veld.
 Mgce,¹ it burns and then be summer
 Until there rise flames.
 Shield that has the udder of a cow !
 10 Ngwane amongst the waters I may liken to a great black pool
 with spirits ;
 Ngwane amongst the paths I may liken to a path which stretches
 across the horizon.
 Ngwane amongst the trees I may liken to a Nyamati tree ;
 Ngwane amongst the goats I may liken to a young he-goat ;
 Ngwane amongst the cattle I may liken to a polled cow.
 15 Thick grass rope of Zombode² of Magugu
 That will trip men at the ankles,
 Umvemve³ I cannot put you in a small kraal,
 I can put you in Zombode of Magugu.
 All-seeing⁴ Ngwane !
 20 Ngwane give to one at the door
 Give freely to one at the portal.
 He killed Umbabha⁵ with his assegai.
 The cattle had their hoofs worn out whilst going to your kraal⁶
 Mampondweni.
 Glad is the woman of Mhola⁷
 25 That saw the youth of Ndaba.⁸
 The bird that played about the valleys⁹ of Mdimba
 He flew and alighted on the screen (of the hut).

¹ Exclamation to express suddenness.

² The name of the Royal Kraal.

³ A stealthily moving bird.

⁴ Lit. Father of eyes.

⁵ The name of a man killed by Ngwane.

⁶ Cattle were constantly being slaughtered there as befits the home of a great chief.

⁷ This begins a description of the route taken by Ngwane on a visit to Zululand.

⁸ This refers to Ngwane.

⁹ Lit. the unaccessible parts of the valleys.

- Uyingw' edhl' amatol' ezinyati ;
 Koto¹⁰ ngamangqe ez' ayindinda.
- 30 Uyadela mfazi waseSigombeni,
 Walibuka ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Uyadela mfazi waseNyakeni,
 Walibuka ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Uyadela mfazi wase Mafuteni,
- 35 Walibuka ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Liyakushoshobala ngesikala
 Esasishona uKuzwako ka Mahlalela kwabaka Nkosi.
 Uyadela mfazi waka Mkweli,
 Ngokubek' ijaha lika Ndaba.
- 40 Uyadela mfazi waka Mshikashika,
 Walibek' ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Intumbelezi¹¹ ka Dhlamini
 Intumbelezele futi emahlatini eMadokanyawo
 Ingongobezi¹² ngoMgeja.
- 45 Uyadela uMashicela¹³ ngapezu koMbombo,
 Walibuk' ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Uyadel' umfazi waka Nongoma,
 Ngokubek' ijaha lika Ndaba.
 Mahlokohla londatsha ngentamo
- 50 Inkomo nabantu¹⁴ inkenenkene
 Uyat' adhl' ezinye abadhl' ezinye.
 Lugobe lukulu lusihlalele.
 Lubizwa ngamanduna ka Ngwane,
 Akubizel' impi yesilungu.
- 55 Buhlalu kabuhlangan' entanyeni
 Ingane kuCikose¹⁵ buyahlangana.
 Buhle bu ngaNdhlazi zaseShowe
 Zona zimashoba ahlul' udaka.
 Wadabula ku Longwevu
- 60 Wayifulel' indhlu yaseMbambane¹⁶
 Wayifulela nezimpunga.
 Wezel' amadoda kona azoba mpunga nangezilevu.¹⁷

- He is a leopard that eats the calves of buffaloes.
 Koto¹⁰ is the flying kite.
- 30 Glad is the woman of Sigombeni
 That saw the youth of Ndaba
 Glad is the woman of Nyakeni
 That saw the youth of Ndaba,
 Glad is the woman of Mafuteni
- 35 That saw the youth of Ndaba
 Who disappeared through the passage
 That of Kuzwako of Mhlalela of the Nkosi.
 Glad is the woman of Mkweli
 For she saw the youth of Ndaba ;
- 40 Glad is the woman of Mshikashika
 That saw the youth of Ndaba.
 Ntumbelezi¹¹ of Dhlamini
 That moved silently through the forests of Madokanyawo
 Ingongabezi¹² of Umgeja
- 45 Glad is Mashicela¹³ beyond Lebombo,
 He saw the youth of Ndaba.
 Glad is the woman of Nongoma
 For seeing the youth of Ndaba.
 Mahlakohla killed Umdatsha.
- 50 Inkomo nabantu,¹⁴
 Before finishing one thing he jumps on to another.
 Lugobe that is big and waiting for us
 He is called by the chiefs of Ngwaneland,
 And they ask for the White man's army.
- 55 The beads do not fit round the neck
 Whereas they fit round the neck of Cikose.¹⁵
 Your beauty is that of the Mouse Birds of Eshowe
 Whose tails touch the mud.
 You went past Longwevu
- 60 You covered the house of Mbabane¹⁶
 With grey shields
 In order that men should be grey bearded.¹⁷

¹⁰Another appellation of Ngwane.

¹¹Anything which can hop from place to place quickly and unperceived.

¹²A bent stick for smoking Dagga: a name for Ngwane.

¹³The name given to Sir Charles Sanders.

¹⁴Another name of Ngwane.

¹⁵Cikose was a daughter of Somhlolo who was strangled.

¹⁶When Ngwane went to meet the Europeans at Mbabane, the present capital of Swaziland, the warriors stood around with their shields.

¹⁷That the people might grow old.

Indaba nibozibuza

Nizibuze ku Sobiyose¹⁸ umlangeni.

65 Ibizo lempi yindaba ulalualo emadodeni.

Nkomo zapel' izinselo ziye mzini omkulu waseGogqeni¹⁹
Bayete.

ISIBONGO

OF

NDUNGUNYA

Ndungunya wa Ngwane

Ugogo' olukulu luka Ngwane,

Luyabotshwa, luyasombuluka.

Ingamu¹ zabo bazi ponsa pezulu bazi londoza

5 Sitsha sika Ndabile no Ngwane

Siholela bo longwe no mlota.

Ask, ye people, for news,
Ask it from Sobhiyose,¹⁸ one of the royalists.

- 65 The name war causes fear among men.
Cattle wore out their hoofs going to the large kraal at Gogqweni¹⁹
Bayete.

¹⁸The man who suggested Ngwane should be chosen from among his brothers to be made king.

¹⁹Cattle were being slaughtered daily at this kraal.

NDUNGUNYA.

Ndungunya of Ngwane
Great skin (or hide) of Ngwane
That is tied up and then suddenly spreads out.
Beads that are tossed up and caught again.

- 5 Dish of Ndabile and Ngwane
That is now used for collecting dung and ashes.

ISIBONGO
OF
MAVUSO.

- Mavuso ka Ngwane
Dangazela¹ ka Ngwane ka Sobhusa,
Vuso ladhl' umntu asesi swini
Uba ngohambayo ngauyazibalekela.
- 5 Mavuso ngoku vus' imizi iyabola.
Gijimani ngazo zonke izindhlela
Niyobikela uMpande ka Zulu,
Niti indhlovu idhle leye indhlovu,
Yaye-leka ngamahiya namahlubuzo.
- 10 Lurwar' ulufungwa ngabe mukayo,
Bati " Mswazi asisayikubuya nakadeni uyabulalana "
'Silwa ngomnyama kosa nina ?
Inkos' elwa ngamahlweba kweza kwakanya.
Babeti Mswazi umfana usematoleni,
- 15 Singeze sabuswa likuba lisemsamo lisinyekiwe ka Majosikazi.
Liyakulima bo Ntuku noNsukusuku.
Mpumangene namahlabati,
Inyoni ka Mabizwa-sabele,
Ubizwe ngu Shila ka Mlambo,
- 20 Umbizela inkomo zika Mhlangala.
Ubizwe uMawewe umbizel' inkomo zika Mzila ka Soshangane.
Mabhunu ka Piet sinisolili,
Sinsole saze saninikela
Ngokuhlaba inkosi isavuna nina ?
- 25 Ukal' egodini ka Piet,
Ukal' egodini ka Jane.²
Sima yedwa longenambuzeli
Ingani Ntungwa liyabuzelwa.
Inkosi yakiti ehlabanako
- 30 Ngingamange ngiyibon' inkosi ukuhlabana,
Yagwaza ngejosi yaze yadinwa.
Mngqimula atwal' izipondo,
Mababal' ahlome ngosuku olubi,
Lomashikizela,³ Lomashiya⁴ impi yake,
- 35 Bayete, Bayete.

MAVUSO

Mavuso of Ngwane,

Dangazela¹ of Ngwane of Sobhusa.

News of war eats the child still in the womb.

- 5 If a person can walk he would have run away.

Flee ye by all the paths,

Go and tell the news to Mpande of the Zulu :

Say one elephant ate another.

And covered it with dress material and quantities of beads.

- 10 Those who ran away swore by Lurwarwa,

Saying, " Mswazi will not return, he is killing

He fights in the darkness, when will the dawn come ?

O chief that fights with the light of burning grass until the dawn comes.

They were saying that Mswazi was a boy herding calves ;

- 15 We shall never be ruled by the hoe stood in the door of Majosikazi.

He will rule Mkuku and Msukusuku.

O one who comes in and goes out of sandy places,

O bird of Mabizwa-sabele

You are called by Shila of Mlambo

- 20 For him you asked cattle from Mhlangala,

You are asked by Mawewe to ask cattle from Mzila of Soshangane.

Dutchmen of Piet Retief, we do not approve of you,

We blame you

By stabbing the chief who was helping you.

- 25 You cry at the grave of Piet Retief,

You cry at the grave of John.²

O one alone without an advocate

Although Ntungwa had one :

Our chief who can stab,

- 30 I never saw a man who could stab like him.

He stabs with an assegai until he tires.

Mngqimila who bears a headdress of feathers,

Mababala who arms on a bad day,

Lomashikizela,³ Lomashiya impi,⁴

- 35 Bayete.

¹ Mavuso.

² This reference is not known.

³ One who goes quickly.

⁴ One who leaves his army behind.

ISIBONGO
OF
SOMHLOLO (SOBHUSA)

- USobhusa wamaSwazi,
Sifuba sinengceke sinamanzi,
Mpa inkomo inabela yaselangeni,
Ngimi ngedwa ongazanga ngipe luto.
- 5 Mashilwane¹ ungumbane wezulu.
Ufihla amehlo² etunzini lentaba,
Walingisa abaputi beMbongolwana.
Buya kudhliwa ngeza ka Mapungwane.³
Tshani bentabende abudhliwa nkomo
- 10 USobhusa nangu nangu bambona pi ?
Bambon' emagumeni abonina.
Inkomo enamabele sipahlwane
Ngokumunyis' ishumi lamadoda.⁴
'Bhuza kwezinde umasibekela,
- 15 Imizi emincane angayisibekela.
Nganga ngamanzi bosale bawababaza,
Imbekwa kanye lingabekwa kabili.
Emakosana abonina wo shece.
Uyakangel' uVesi⁵ bati ujamile.
- 20 Inyati yakiti enipondo zimakenekene,
Yadhl' umuntu kwanga uhlatshwe ngehloka,
Wadhla ka Nkasa, wadhla Bocwane.
Amakwezi kubikelana inkwenkwezi kanye neSilimela
Tshani bentabende abudhliwa nkomo,
- 25 Budhliwa ngezimnyama ezika Mapungwane
U Sobhusa mugezeni izandhla nezinyawo⁶

SOMHLOLO (SOBHUSA)

- O Sobhuso of the Swazis,
 A chest higher than others and which has water (fear).
 One that gives a cow with teats belonging to Nongeni,
 Only to myself did he give nothing.
- 5 Mashilwane¹ is the lightning of Heaven.
 He hid the eyes of the people in the shadow of the hill²
 He equalled the destroyers of Mbongolwana.
 It will be eaten by the people of Mapungwane³
 The grass of the long mountain is not eaten off by the cattle.
- 10 There is Sobhusa. Where did they see him ?
 They never saw the imisila until they arrived.
 The cow with many teats
 Gives suck to ten men⁴
 Sobhusa is taller than other mountains
- 15 He can destroy little kraals.
 There is one playing with the waters, the survivors will give
 praise
 They looked at him once, they did not look twice.
 The very Makosana were afraid of Sobhusa.
 He looked at Vesi⁵ who said that he was waiting.
- 20 Our buffalo whose horns are turned back,
 He eats up a man as if he had been pole axed.
 He ate up Nkasa and Bocwana.
 The stars tell each other which is the Morning Star, and the
 Isilimela.
 The grass of the long mountain is not eaten up by the cattle
- 25 It is eaten up by the black herds of Mapungwane.
 Wash the feet and hands of Sobhusa⁶

¹A lightning doctor killed by Somhlolo.

²He hid the people.

³The people of Mapungwane were smoked out of their caves with burning grass.

⁴A chief must feed many people.

⁵Vesi was condemned to death but could not run away through fear.

⁶Because he is said to have walked on the grave of an Msutu wizard called Mkisa.

ISIBONGO

OF

LUDONGA

- Ludonga lway' embo lwabuyelela¹
 Mahlal' okandeni lwenyati²
 Enzele benyatini kona bazombalekela.
 Mpangumpangu kulala pezu komkona,³
- 5 Ingani Amandulundulu⁴ apuma aukwela Umdimba.⁵
 Umama ugyemana, angazi kwabepanako
 Kwabapa umuntu ngendinganiso.
 Hlahla Somdhlebe⁶ sisenhlakwemuze.
 Bate bayasigaula beMshada sawapica amazembe.
- 10 Wap' inkankazane ka Somajingisa,⁷
 Watwal' igula lako lagiqika.
 Lunda lenkunzi yaso Dhlambedhlwini.⁸
 Langalibalele uyabizwa ko Mungayi,⁹
 Uyabizwa ko Nkisimane.¹⁰
- 15 Ludonga umhlope amadoda abomvu.
 Unjengelanga lipume enzasi ka Loziyingila ka Makasane.¹¹
 Msayi waghubu lingatetwa,
 Mhlaba nkomo zingauvumi ;
 Azivumi nje zina magama abamkubako.
- 20 Jikijel' elimkono umazima.
 Elajikijela pesheya kwesibubulundu.¹²
 Ingwenyama esindwa lishoba ukwewela
 Nokoboba ngabo emajubukweni.¹³
 Besitemba nkosi ubutemba kungasi luto,
- 25 Inkosi bati ayibonizalwa yasakela njengamabele ezindala.
 Balambile basemuzini abafun' inkosi yokuzalwa,
 Ndaba zake zimnandi ebantwini.
 Bayete.

LUDONGA

- Ludonga who went to Embo and returned the same day,¹
 He stayed on the head of the Buffalo²
 So that the Buffalo regiment ran away from him.
 Mpangumpangu sleeps on the arm³
- 5 Whereas the Amandulundulu⁴ came and climbed Umdimba.⁵
 My mother is mean, I do not know a generous man
 Who gives to people I do not know.
 The Umdhlebe tree stands behind the kraal⁶
 The Inyati regiment was cutting of Umshade but they bent
 their axes.
- 10 He killed Somajingisa⁷
 And wore the headdress shaking in the wind.
 The hump of the bull of the Dhlambedhlwini.⁸
 Langalibalele you are called by Mngayi,⁹
 You are called by Nkisimane.¹⁰
- 15 Ludonga was white and his men were red.
 You are like the sun rising in the East at Loziyingila of Maka-
 sane¹¹
 Player of the umghubu, not yet tried, was killed.
 He killed beasts and they did not answer,
 They don't answer because there was said something against
 him.
- 20 Jikijela of the heavy arm
 He threw something against Sibubulundu hill.¹²
 Lion with a heavy tail to wag and carry
 Because he will walk slowly at the drifts.¹³
 We were hoping, Chief, it being easy to hope
- 25 They say a chief is born and follows like the old kafir corn
 They are hungry in the kraals and they want a chief to be born.
 The news of him is sweet to the people.

¹ His army contracted fever.² He killed a buffalo.³ Mpangumpangu was the chief of the BakwaTomo and was protected by Ludonga.⁴ A tribe.⁵ A hill or range of mountains near Zombode.⁶ This means that a chief needs not one but many regiments.⁷ Lit. "Shaking in the wind."⁸ A name given to the king's cattle.⁹ The induna of Old Lobamba who suggested the site.¹⁰ A Sutu who was driven out by Ludonga.¹¹ A tribe Ludonga attacked in the east of Swaziland.¹² He sent an army against Mdhlayi who lived there.¹³ The army on its way from Mdhlayi had to cross a flooded drift and many men were drowned.

ISIBONGO
OF
DHLAMINI (MBANDENI)

- Lezonyoni, Josaya, ubozibekisa
Zihamba neNgqulungqulu¹ ka Mavuso.
Umfana ubuz' izindaba,
Izindaba kufa kwamadoda,
- 5 Nalapa bayasha bashel' ezindhlini.
Mbenuli wamaguma kosal' izimpahla
Sosale zenzana, zosale zihaula.
Ingqulungquli ibhula amapiko
InganguDhlamini aqub' izinkomo,
- 10 Aziquba ngendhlunkulu emakala.
Lezo ntombi zika Ngcosho ziti asisamfungi
Ziti osengcobingeni.²
Lusiba liveNtengu noliveNdhlazibatwa
Olwalu bhibh' inkulu ze Mgungundhlovu.
- 15 Singci asikulumi asinamlomo,
Sinjengetye lona lisemanzini
Lingezwa qiva lingezwa 'langa.
'Sifuba vungama iminyakanyaka
Naba zakuvela bosikanda sivungama
- 20 Linceba elikuhlaba
Kade inceba ulibukela ku Ndongandemhlubulweni.³
Nabo bakuhlaba mfo wabo Ludonga
Uhlatshwa ngaw' amanguquka ingubo zabelungu.
Bhulu⁴ pangweni ku la Zide⁵ ku Makakamela.
- 25 Ndundumela ngoti lomgobo
Oluhlom' Amandanda⁶ lubuye lunduzele
Ngoba ngisindile mina kwa Ngwane,
Nakwa Baqub' imihlambi yezimfukwane.⁷
Litole elimbombo linga ngu Donda ematoleni.

DHLAMINI (MBANDENI)

- Mark those birds, Josaya,
 They go with Ngqulungqulu¹ of Mavuso.
 The boy asks for news,
 News of the death of men
- 5 And here they burn them in their huts.
 Mbhenuli who breaks down the screens round huts
 Only the roofs remain
 What will they be left doing, they will be left grieving.
 Ingqulungqulu flaps his wings
 As if he were Dhlamini driving cattle,
- 10 Driving them with people of the Great Place.
 The girls of Ngcotshe they say we do not swear by him,
 They say they swear by one in the grave²
 Feather of Ntengu and of Ndhlazibatwa
 Which is used by the great men of Gungundhlovu to clean their
 ears.
- 15 Isingci speaks not and has no mouth,
 It is like a stone in the water
 Which feels neither cold nor sun.
 The chest hums for years and years
 Even those yet to be born will still find it humming.
- 20 It is a wound which stabs you,
 And still you look at the wound in the side of Ludonga.³
 There they are stabbing you, brother of Ludonga
 You are stabbed by turncoats who change as easily as a White-
 man's blankets.
 Honour⁴ the daughter of Zide,⁵ Makakamele.
- 25 They drum with the stock of the shields
 Which the Amadanda⁶ use again and again.
 I shall survive in Ngwaneland
 In spite of those who drive herds and izifukwane.⁷
 O calf which has a nose like that of Donda among the calves.
- 30 Madeya of Ndaba,⁸

¹A bird, the name of Dhlamini.

²Literally, a heap of stones.

³This may refer to Ludonga I. who seems to have been done to death.

⁴Lit. "bow to the womb."

⁵Zide was the grandmother of Mbandini and was killed by him. Her daughter was Makakamele.

⁶The name of a regiment.

⁷A kind of cattle the chiefs loved.

⁸A name given to Dhlamini.

- 30 Madeya ka Ndaba,⁸
 Wadey' izinkabi, watenga majara,
 Waye watenga Imokama ka Hoho.
 Wabon' ukuti amadoda asambilingale.
 Amehlo asicenge abuka ngapesheya.
- 35 Wafana ne Zingisi zika Mabila,
 Zona zidhla Zesul' umlomo.
 Ngesangu emarwanca ngeyakona
 Koba imbanjane edhliwa izindhlovu,
 Izindhlovu ngezaka Mkabela.
- 40 Mbanga kwezinde umapakamela,
 Ulukwezi mabhula lapa kudl' imihlambi,
 Kudhla bo Ngangaze ka Mboko entonjeni.
 Sobhenelwako onjengo waka Mbango ka Paswako.
 Msutu onhlangande kwabaqaqaile
- 45 Bqaq' ombombo nempumlo.
 Umbambile uKembisinyati pakati kwesikonyane namahali-
 nyane.
 Wambamba uNgqilikijane amakubalo
 Aze adhliwa kona ka Mswazi.
 Ijuba lisuka nengoda laya pezulu.
- 50 Kusile wena wapakati,⁹
 Kusile, Gaca,¹⁰ lidlha basongi bezita ?
 Sindinde pakati eyeheni Mswazi ngezwi lika Njelu.
 Ngimbuka ngimesabe mina uLozigini waka Tabede.¹¹
 Bati uNdaba¹² kaye kubona, uNdaba umananga ka Zulu.
- 55 Umaqanik' ageze ngenyongo yezulu
 Amakosi ageza ngentelezi.¹³
 Bayete, bayete.

- He gave up cattle and paid for regiments of young men,
 He bought the Imokomo regiment of Hoho,
 He saw that men were against him,
 Sharp eyes that see afar off.
 Make him king, rebel and then lift him up again.
- 35 He looked like Zingisi of Mabila,
 They eat and wipe the mouth.
 A big branch of dagga of that place,
 And grass used to season dagga will be eaten by the elephants,
 The elephants of Mkabela.
- 40 Mbanga stands up above the tall ones,
 The Lukwezi flaps his wings among the cattle.
 There eats Ngangaze of Mboko in at Tonjeni.
 Sobhenelwako who is like Mbaga of Paswako,
 A Msutu who has long doctored cuts,
- 45 In the bridge and side of his nose.
 You caught Kembisinyati among the locusts and the robbers.
 You caught Ngilikijane and his beads
 Were eaten there at Mswazi's
 The dove flies up with a piece of grass.
- 50 Greetings, O chief,⁹
 Greetings, Gaca¹⁰ who eats the enemy.
 We are caught in doubt, Mswazi, by the words of Njelu.
 I look at and fear Lozigini of Tabede.¹¹
 The say that Undaba¹² must go and see another king of the
 Zulus.
- 55 He appears and washes himself in the bile of Heaven.
 The chiefs wash in Telezi.¹³

⁹ Literally, It has risen, you of the inside (chieftainship).

¹⁰ A name given to Dhlamini.

¹¹ A name given to Dhlamini.

¹² A name given to Dhlamini.

¹³ A medicine used to wash the chiefs in order to make them powerful.

BOOK NOTICES

Nyimbo sya Waklistu awakatoliko, Lala Hymnbook. Compiled by A. M. Jones, 93 pp. (S.P.C.K. 1931).

This is a most welcome addition to Bantu hymnology. The author calls his book an experiment, and we would venture to predict the success of the experiment. For long it has been felt, even by those who are not trained in music, that the Bantu word-system fits ill with European hymn tunes. Laws of stress and—more important in certain languages—laws of tone are over-ridden and broken when European tunes are forced upon Bantu words.

The compiler of these Lala hymns and tunes has courageously set about to adapt the tunes the better to fit the trochaic nature of Bantu rhythm. His collection includes words and tunes written by Africans, the use of Native folk-tunes with words adapted, and the alteration of European tunes, as for instance by the singing of the last three notes on two syllables.

The probable success of this experiment is enhanced by the fact that Lala belongs to the Central Bantu group of languages, in which a three-tone system prevails. Nevertheless great care will have to be observed with regard to the inherent tones of words, especially at the end of lines.

In Southern Bantu languages, such as Zulu and Xhosa, where tone (with nine pitch variations) plays so large a part, really good results will only be achieved, when the tune of each verse of a hymn is changed to suit the changing words. An examination of Native choruses reveals the fact that certain words are necessarily associated with a certain tune and that the tune is changed with the change of words.

So important is this point that it is an undoubted fact that it has decided the form of Native vocal music in general, so much so that it is questionable whether a simple Native, accustomed as he is to voice his sentiments within the confines of his own limited though definite musical forms, can ever truly express them through the medium of an alien design, as he has been almost universally expected to do in the past.

Mr. Jones has boldly attempted to reconcile the conflicting elements, and his solutions go far towards doing so. His volume will unquestion-

ably be of the utmost value in helping the Native to preserve his own artistic sincerity, and hence will promote his religious worship.

P.R.K. and C.M.D.

The Unification of the Shona Dialects ; by C. M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt.

Pp. 156 with tables and maps (Report to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, 1931).

After reading Dr. Doke's book, there will be few who will not accept his dictum that the "Shona" dialects are but local exemplifications of one language.

Dr. Doke came to S. Rhodesia armed with modern apparatus and his own outstanding personal equipment to obtain the exact data necessary for the settlement of this vexed question ; and, with the assistance of a local committee and other willing workers, he found and tabulated 13 features of identity in grammar and phonetics in the dialects, and an underlying unity of vocabulary.

The Shona dialects have a large language field extending from the Indian Ocean in P. E. Africa across S. Rhodesia and into Bechuanaland. They are now spoken by a million people.

Dr. Doke foresees no difficulty in the unification of 5 out of 6 of the main dialects, and puts forward 12 practical recommendations to implement their standardisation, including compilation of a unified grammar and an inclusive dictionary.

In these constructive proposals he rightly emphasises the necessity of an adequate orthography, and advocates one which will be in accord with those approved by the International Institute and now in use in many parts of Africa. He proposes to employ conventional digraphs and trigraphs, and to add eight symbols to the Roman alphabet. Tone is not to be marked, context being considered a sufficient indication. The recommendations, generally, are those of a "broad system of separate symbols for the essential distinguishing sounds of the language ; but not for diaphones or variants heard in different dialects, etc."

I suggest that the capital symbols might be dropped. Have they any real use ? They will certainly not be ornaments in the method of word division advocated by Dr. Doke ; for, in it, they will frequently appear like misprints in the middles of words !

There will be grave misgivings on this recommendation for conjunctivism. Meinhof says that "the division of connected speech into words is a matter of etymology and grammar, not of phonetics." But Doke follows the dictum of Bryant as to accentuation being the guide, and believes that the word division in Bantu is founded on the rule of stress. Nevertheless he lays down definitive rules as to the parts or particles of speech which should be joined. He would have us divest our minds of European predilections, and it is certainly true that Africans when freed from European control, use conjunctive writing.

But that there are pitfalls in his method may be seen from Dr. Doke's own texts. He has "*Haticadi kurima baisu*," divorcing the negative enclitic "*ba*" from its verb, and attaching it to the reflexive. Again, is there not some danger that conjoined vowels, which should be separately sounded, may be read as diphthongs?

But these are details. The main work is not only decisive and constructive, but brings much new knowledge, e.g. in the distinction of plosives. Dr. Doke is to be thanked as well as congratulated on a notable achievement.

CHARLES BULLOCK.

AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES AND PRACTICES OF THE BALOBEDU⁽¹⁾

By EILEEN KRIGE

A. RAIN

In the agricultural ritual of all the south-central Bantu tribes, that of making or ensuring a supply of rain ranks easily as the most important, and if this is true for tribes like the Bechuana, it is easy to see why, among the Balobedu whose queen Modjadge is renowned for her great rain-making powers, rain ceremonies predominate so much that practices such as the doctoring of seed before planting are resorted to only by *baloi*. It is rain which is all-important for agriculture and once this has fallen, nothing more is considered necessary for ensuring the fertility of the seed.

Part played by chief. Though it is not clear whether the Bantu believe that the ancestors have the power to send or withhold rain, or whether they act as mediators between the living and some greater power such as *Modimo*, from whom they beg rain for their descendants, one thing is certain—that the people pray to their ancestors for rain and try to awaken their pity and sympathy when no rain has fallen and they are all suffering.

Now the ancestors who have the greatest power are the ancient lords of the land who can only be approached with success by their representative in the direct line, the living chief of the tribe. It is the chief, therefore, who takes the lead in rain and agricultural ceremonies. Among the Balobedu the chief is even more closely bound up with the agricultural life of the country for here we find the Sacred Kingship—with the queen's life is connected the welfare of the tribe and she may not grow old lest vegetation and the fertility of the crops be correspondingly weakened. Therefore, after every fourth initiation school the queen must drink poison called *ketaba* (used only by chiefs). Before she dies, however, she must impart her knowledge of the rain charms every day for six days to her successor.

⁽¹⁾ This is one of a series of articles on the customs of the Balobedu tribe (Modjadge's people) of the Northern Transvaal, and was made possible by a grant from the Bantu Studies Research Grant Fund of the University of the Witwatersrand, which I hereby gratefully acknowledge.

For various reasons, but more particularly because of the very limited period of investigation, this is to be considered merely as a preliminary account, provisional in nature and full of obvious shortcomings.

The Rain Medicine

Just as the chief is the great rainmaker in the tribe, the chief ingredient in the rain medicine consists of the body dirt and skin of the deceased chief. On the death of the queen, which is kept secret for a whole year, the body is washed every day and the dirt is made to fall into an earthenware basin. This is done until all the skin comes off and only then is the chief buried. This skin is put into the rain pots. To obtain rain after the death of the chief, part of the flesh together with other ingredients including the brains of an owl are burned together on a fire.

Accompanying the rain horn is the small sacred drum called *Rangoedi*. It is the most important of the *Komana* drums and must always be taken if the people are pursued by enemies. It is said to have the power of running away from fire—an attribute which originated as follows:—When Albasini, the Portuguese leader of the Shangaans, was fighting against the Balobedu, he, on one occasion set fire to the place where the *Komana* drums were kept. All were burnt except the *Rangoedi*—a fact which added to the awe in which this drum is held and greatly enhanced its importance to the tribe. This drum is thought of as a “person” because the skin of the face of the chief, cut into strips, is placed round the inside. Smearred on the outside of this drum is the body-dirt washed off the face of the deceased chief councillor. According to some the skin, not of the chief but of the chief councillor, is used for the *Rangoedi* and he is strangled for the purpose. The skin of a man used for this purpose is euphemistically called *tetele enthso* (black antelope). It is said that at present the skin in the *Rangoedi* needs to be renewed but that the chief councillors are opposed to killing one of themselves for the purpose, an opposition that makes itself felt only owing to the decline in the queen’s power since the advent of the European.

The *Rangoedi* appears to be important as giving power to the chief, for when the heir is being instructed and initiated into the secrets of rain-making prior to the death of the queen, she sits on this drum. And finally on the day of her coronation this drum is her chair. So intimately connected with the queen is this drum that should they wish to depose her, she would have to take this drum away with her. Only a usurper who did not succeed in producing rain, could, however, be deposed and in Balobedu history there is one such case in which a usurper could not make rain and so the rightful successor was called to come.

There seems reason to suspect that blood of the *kwara*, a scaly animal which may never be killed, but must always be brought alive to the chief, is used as an ingredient for the royal rain-medicine.

The Chief's Rainmaker

The whole question of rainmaking is very obscure for no commoner is in a position to give authentic information on it, and the members of the royal family will divulge nothing of these their deepest and most closely guarded secrets.

It appears that every year a relative of the queen is selected to be the rainmaker, but why this should be so when the queen herself is the great rainmaker, is difficult to tell. In 1929 Maduma of Motetsi, a *legota*, was rainmaker for the fourth time in four successive years. He will be chosen till there is a drought and his rainmaking powers are discredited. There are four rainmakers in the tribe and they inherit this power by washing the skin of their deceased father and keeping this "dirt" for rainmaking. No doubt the rainmaker works in conjunction with the queen, who really is the great rainmaker, for he is called to the head kraal. When the rains are good, the queen is praised and gets all the credit, but if there is little rain, the rainmaker is blamed.

The Stars. There are many signs that spring, the time when the rains are due, is at hand, but it is said that when the star called *Naka* (Canopus) is visible, the people go and tell the chief so that she will prepare the rain-medicine. The first person to see *Naka* in the East at daybreak is very lucky: he will say "*Naka wee ! Naka has come out, the boy has come out.*" (*Ho koile Naka ; ho koile mosemana*). Obviously this is a reference to some myth but the old informant who gave this information was unable or unwilling to explain it. *Naka* is, however, not the only star that is watched. The chief signs are the sun, *Naka* and *Selemela* (the Seven Sisters). *Selemela* appears in the East at daybreak when spring approaches, a little nearer the horizon than *Naka*. *Selemela* is praised when it is seen, in the following words "*Selemela, I am up. Let Kohamasiu follow me.*" I do not know what star *Kohamasiu* is but it is said to follow *Selemela*, and behind it follow the *Mahakala* (Orion) stars.

Though *Selemela* is so definitely associated by its name with hoeing time, the star *Naka* seems to play almost a more important part, for it gives the signal for rainmaking to proceed. But it is of importance too as indicating the time (in winter) when the *Wolika* (boys' circumcision school) is to begin and I feel sure that there is much more to be discovered in connection with it.

The Ceremomial Visit to Daja

Among the Bechuana and other tribes it is as a last resort, after excessive drought only that visits are made to graves of powerful chiefs

where sacrifices are made (a black ox usually being used for the purpose) to ask for rain. This is considered to be the most potent of all rain ceremonies. Among the Balobedu, however, the visit to the burial place of the tribal ancestors formed part of the normal rain-cult, practised every year and it was only if this was unsuccessful that other ceremonies took place.

The accounts of these ceremonies (called the *Daja* and *Komana*) are vague and conflicting not alone because they are part of the most sacred and secret usages of the tribe and are so intimately bound up with the ceremonial and priestly function of the chief, which is known only to her closest relatives; but also because they have not taken place for a period of 30 years, since the accession of Sesetwane. The reason why these ceremonies have not been held is said by some to be due to objections of certain councillors (chiefly Malokwane) whose skin would have to be used for the *Komana* drum—objections which can not easily be disregarded now that the White man is here to punish ritual murders.

It is the custom of the Balobedu never to cut wood or chop down trees growing near burial places and it is this custom that makes it a criminal offence to cut wood in the forest of *Daja*, the sacred spot where the oldest chiefs lie buried. It was near *Daja* that the Balobedu chiefs settled when they first came into the country and it was not until Seale's reign that they moved to the mountain where Sesetwane's kraal now stands. *Daja* is important for another reason, for it is related that the *badima* of the Basioka, the first inhabitants of the country, are there too and it may be that there is some idea of propitiating these old lords of the land, whose descendants have all died out. Seale and his descendants in the royal line were buried at *Moholwe*, a place quite near to the present head kraal, and it is at *Moholwe* that the sacred *Komana* drums are kept. No wood may be cut there. The bush round the present head kraal may also not be cut, though there are no graves there.

There seems to be some idea that *Daja* is the abode of all the spirits in the Balobedu (royal) family, because after certain ceremonies when, after sunset, the spirits of the ancestors come and make a noise, they are called *badaja* or *dajane*. These *dajane* may be people who have died recently and who were not buried at *Daja*. The spirits of people who belong to other *moloko* than the royal one are not called *dajana*.

When and by Whom the Visit Took Place

The visit to *Daja*⁽²⁾ was always made in the month called *Pebelelo*, i.e. September, and although they always speak of the queen going to *Daja*,

(²) Masterata, the oldest man in the tribe, said Moholwe is first visited for five days; on the sixth day they returned home and after two days only they went to *Daja*.

she never did, in fact, go. The *bakololo* (close relatives, male and female) together with three of the queen's wives who had not yet been given husbands⁽³⁾ were the chief actors but before they set out, certain *preparations* were necessary.

There is a *legota* who has his kraal near *Daja*, and as he is a relative of the chief he is regarded as the caretaker of the wood. The queen had to send a message to him to clear a road to the spot where the chiefs are buried and it is also said that the women of his kraal prepared beer which they carried to the forest. The priest at *Daja* (the *legota*) took a little of all the different crops that are planted—mealies, *mpoho*, *madipu*, pumpkin, etc., and put them alongside the old graves and covered them up. Then when the *bakololo* came they would look to see which seeds had grown best, for this would be an indication to them which crops the people must plant the most of, for that year. After the *Komana* the people would then be told what would grow best.

Taboos. During the time of the visit to *Daja* until after the *Komana* (1) no sticks might be broken on pain of the fine of an ox. (2) people had to be quiet—no one was to shout and no drums must be beaten.

The Procession. Early in the morning the procession set out, men in front followed by the women wearing a *mokashahangue* (skin of he-goat) reaching from the waist to the ankle behind, and in front a frontal skirt of prepared stomach of ox, together with many beads adorning their bodies.⁽⁴⁾ Whether the wives of the queen wear the same dress as her relatives, I do not know. The men blew *impalapala* (antelope horns) to warn all of their approach, for anyone they met was killed and should any one peep to see them, he would be punished by the gods by immediate death. The procession proceeded slowly, the men driving a black ox and the women (presumably the three wives of the queen only) carrying one white-washed calabash of beer, and two ancient basins resembling European crockery, which have been brought from *Bokgalaka* (Rhodesia). In one there was beer while the other was empty.

On reaching the Mototsui River (which no chief may ever cross) the empty basin was filled with sand, but with what purpose has not been disclosed. Near the forest was a small river which must be crossed, it is called *setaba bakololo*—the place where only *bakololo* can wash.

Arrival. The priest awaited the arrival of the procession and what now occurred is veiled in the greatest secrecy, for not even the *bakololo* were sure what the priest did.

⁽³⁾Masterata said it is the queen's own D and Ds of her wives that must go.

⁽⁴⁾Some say all are naked.

Sacrifice. The beer was taken by the priest from the girls, who remained at a certain spot, and it was believed that this was poured on the graves of the ancestors as an offering (though some do maintain that the priest drank most of it himself !) While this took place, the men who had not entered the wood, were busy slaughtering the ox, special parts of which were taken by the priest to the graves. My informants did not know which parts were taken. And one informant even denied that the ox was killed there at all ; according to him it was driven home again and killed there, the skin being used for the *Komana* drums. But this seems improbable in view of the prevalent idea that no prayer for rain at an ancestor's grave can be effective without killing an ox. If the ox was not killed at *Daja* there would be no point in taking it there, as far as our information goes.

The rest of the meat of the slaughtered ox was cooked and eaten without salt, by the whole company including the priest. It may be mentioned that it is believed by some that all of them had to have the body (not the loin) uncovered before giving the offering to the gods, but I have been unable to discover any reason for this or whether at all there is any truth in the statement (made by a close relative of the queen).

It is also not clear whether the procession returned that same evening, or whether the night was spent in the forest at *Daja*, but the latter seems the more correct for they are said to return in the afternoon and as *Daja* is so far from the head kraal this could not be the same day.

Meaning of the Visit to Daja

The ceremonial visit to *Daja* was in the nature of an offering to the gods—they were given beer and meat in order that they might be propitiated, so that the *Komana* by means of which the chiefs asked their *badima* for rain, could have the desired effect. The *Komana* was the chief thing that had the power of asking rain from the *badima*. It was called *modimo a dikhosi*, the god of the chiefs.

KOMANA

The first *Komana* held after the *wodika* (circumcision school) is a school as well, in which the initiates are instructed in the whistling language, are shown what the *badaja* (who make a noise at sunset after the *Tukula* and *Mokato* ceremonies) really are, see for the first time the sacred drums of the tribe, and receive certain marks on their faces to show that they have been through it. The *Komana* school is an introduction into the deepest secrets of the tribe—secrets which are

divulged to the initiates only after they have been made "men" in the *wodika*. It seems that among the neighbouring tribes who also have the *Komana*, it is regarded more as a boy's school than among the Balobedu where its primary object is definitely a prayer for rain to the ancestors of the chiefs. The *Komana* is held even to-day outside the reserve, but always as a school, and it may be owing to the breakdown of the old religious rites, coupled with the great modern spread of the initiation schools in the Northern Transvaal, that its character as a school has become emphasized.

By Whom Held

The *Komana* may be held only by the chief and certain other relatives, viz., Maumatala, a chief near Tzaneen, and Keshwene who lives near Duivelskloof. They are independent of Modjadge now, though they still recognise her preëminence and ask her permission before holding a *Komana*. But Modjadge's fame is greater than this, for in 1928 when the people of Motoko's location near Blaauwberg held a *wolika*, they brought a present to Modjadge when it was over, as a thank-offering. The chiefs, Sekhopo (near Munnik) and Mamahila, though related to Modjadge and also Balobedu, do not ask her permission because they long ago broke away completely.

When Held. Modjadge's *Komana* was begun immediately on the first evening after the return of the *bakololo* from *Daja*, when the *Dikomana* drums were beaten. On this first night the *Komana* is said to "fall" in the *kgoro* at *Moholwe*, for it is here that they are beaten. The women are told the *koma* is an animal that can fly and it bites the boys, or that the spirits of the old chiefs come to bite the boys. Then early next morning the drums are carried to the *lesoso*—clearing where the *Komana* is held during the day. While the drums are being carried, the old men precede the carriers, whistling and throwing stones to frighten the women, who know by this that they must not be out. The drums themselves are hidden by the men who crowd on all sides.

THE DRUMS

We have already seen that the *Rangoedi*, the smallest of the four *Komana* drums, is most potent as a rain medicine, containing as it does some human skin of the dead chief or councillors. The other three drums, though not so important, are nevertheless sacred too, and all are kept in a special unplastered hut at *Moholwe*. These drums can never be played at any other time for they are "honoured drums," made in a special way.

How Made. Originally, before Albasini burnt all except the smallest drum, the biggest drum of all, *Patate*, standing about four feet high, had been brought from *Bokgalaka* and was the oldest one known. This was why it had a special praise-song in its honour. The other drums were made nearer home—by Bawenda and others. The rule is that a *Komana* drum can never be made by a man living under Modjadge, for then, as soon as he finishes it, he will die. The makers are not told the purpose of the drums, but only the size, shape and decoration required. The drums are much decorated on the sides but these, we are told, have no significance whatsoever.

The skin covering *must* be put on by the people of Rabothata who have *tlou*—elephant as their totem. This has always been the special service of this *moloko* to the queen, and it is a highly honoured one. Oxen (castrated) of the chief must be used for this purpose and they must be pure *black* in colour. They are killed by the Ba-Rabothata at *Moholwe* without ceremony though the killer must, as in all cases when cattle are slaughtered, be “healthy,” i.e. must not be sleeping with any of his wives. The skins are put on wet. When old skins of the *Komana* drums are replaced by new ones, the former are always given to Rabothata.

Besides being responsible for putting new skins on the *Komana* drums, Rabothata also smears ochre on them to keep the weevils out, and when the hut in which they are kept requires mending, the Ba-Rabothata are the people to do it.

Names, and How Played. Besides the *Patate*, the biggest drum of all, there are the *Tanka*, the next in size, the *Pekahare*, smaller than the *Tanka*, and a little smaller than the biggest drum I saw at the head kraal which was about three feet high from the ground, and last of all the *Rangoedi*, about one foot in height and the most important of all. Among some of the neighbouring tribes the first two drums I have mentioned are called *Majeke* and *Pekudi* respectively. They are all shaped like the *Koma* drum. The *Majeke* is beaten with the palms of both hands simultaneously in the beginning, but when the music is in full swing, alternate hands may be used. The *Pekudi* has a different beat and two sticks are used. For the *Pekahare* and *Rangoedi* two sticks called *seopa sa koma* are also used. The biggest drum is always the first to be played and the others join in in turn; then when all the drums are going, the singing and the whistling of the *Dajane* through their special whistles is begun. The whole is said to make a very beautiful combination. The beat of the *Komana* drums is different from that of all other drums and can always

be recognised, but it is taboo out of the *Komana*. There are no special people to beat the *Dikomana*—they may be beaten by any men.

THE SONGS

I have unfortunately been unable to obtain reliable information on the songs that are sung at the *Komana*. The most important song is in praise of the biggest *Komana* drum and contains a reference to *Mohale*, one of the oldest chiefs, whose name occurs in most initiation and tribal songs. This song is supposed to assist in rainmaking. The words are :—*Koto la Patata a Mohale he nka be a se modimo re ka lata rakokolosa raisa madibene*.—The leg of Patata of Mohale, should it not be god, we should throw it away and roll it to the pool.

One would expect songs in praise of the chiefs of old, but so far I have not been able to obtain any. Another song that is taught the boys is :—

Molla koma, o bola lehu lahoe, hase hoe eena, go tlo papagoe—One who tells what the *Koma* is proclaims his death—if not his own that of his father. This is merely a warning, it seems, not to divulge any *Koma*, i.e. any “wonderful” thing shown one at any of the schools.

In addition to these songs called *lehoja la Komana*, there appear to be many proverbs (*seka*) that are sung.⁽⁵⁾ Some of these have reference to chiefs but others are just ordinary proverbs, so that it cannot be said that chiefs are lauded in any way in the *Komana* :—

(1) “New kings, we must not go near them for if we do, our necks will be cut off.” This refers to the fighting that used to take place at the death of every chief.

(2) “If a country has no king, the people eat each other.”

(3) “We must show respect to all chiefs’ sons for we do not know who is to be chief.”

(4) “If an axe makes a sound, it will be heard by passers-by; if it is the chief’s order it will be heard in far countries, even as far as *Bokgalaka*.” This means that people in the court all have to carry out the chief’s orders.

(5) “Children of the wild cat, take one path; if you depart from that you’ll be children of Mahota.” This teaches people not to be quarrelsome, but it has a reference to tradition or history that my infor-

(5) Masterata says no “*seka*” are sung.

mant could not understand. He did not know who Mahota was. The words "wild cat" seem to represent the Balobedu because one of the boys' *wodika* songs is called "The wild cats of Tsoale," Tsoale being a precipitous stronghold held by the Balobedu against all Shangaan attempts to take it.

(6) "You be quiet, lizard, sit still! If you do so, you'll eat everything off the rocks" (referring to lizards eating mealies that are drying on the rocks). I was told that this proverb teaches politeness but it appears to me to advise stealth rather than politeness in gaining your object.

(7) "The quagga (*bitse*) that walks on the road having the red patch (referring to its stripes) still has the dust of long ago" (as if dust has stuck on from much walking). This means that a man inherits his father's manners.

Taboos for Women. In addition to the general rules that no one in the country is to shout or make a noise or break sticks, which have already been mentioned in connection with the visit to *Daja*, the women near the head kraal are subject to special rules.

While the men sing and drum at *Moholwe* during the night they throw stones at the huts to frighten the women and to make sure that no one breaks the taboo against watching the men. It is *ho ila* for the women to look. For the six days of the *Komana*, the women at *Moholwe* and near there are not to go out after sunset.

From the above account the *Komana* appears to consist of the beating of the sacred drums and the singing of certain songs. Even admitting that these are sacred drums and so might be considered very effective as a prayer to the ancestors, it seems impossible that the *Komana* consists of six days' and nights' singing alone. There must be much more to it, and unless further information can be obtained now, its significance may be lost forever.

The Komana as a School

Preparations. The night before the *Komana* begins, the people belonging to the *moloko* of Ramolefo gather together a bundle of sticks for beating the boys. It is considered a great honour to collect these sticks but why it is to be done by this particular family is not clear. Usually sticks from the *Serapje* tree are used but this is only because it is specially suited to the purpose and others may be used.

Beer has been prepared in great quantities and this serves as an attraction so that most of the men come to the *Komana*. But while it lasts they may come and go as they please.

Beginning. The *Komana* drums are beaten on the evening of the return from *Daja*, but it is not till the following morning after breakfast that the boys assemble at *Moholwe* in the *kgoro*. They are brought by their fathers or gathered by the men.

Running the Gauntlet. When the boys have arrived some men guard the gate while others range themselves in two rows (with no special order of precedence). They are armed with a stick in each hand and the boys are made to run the gauntlet between these rows. It is said that Modjadge herself stands at the head of the row and gives each boy the first hit—but there is reason to doubt this, for the queen never takes part in public ceremonies, as far as I know. The boys wear only a “*stertriem*”; they run straight out of the gate of the kraal, where they are collected by the men and taken to a prepared spot in the bush near *Moholwe*.

Women of the kraal are allowed to watch this beating from outside the *kgoro* but of course may not be heard at all.

This beating is really the payment on the part of the boys for the school. Some outside chiefs, such as Rasekwale, do not have the boys beaten but require the father to make a payment of one hoe (in the old days).

The Lesoso (lodge). As the same lodge is used year after year, it is difficult to discover what ceremonies were observed in its construction. All we are told is that before being built, the fence had to be “doctored.” The *Sosone* consists of a very high circular fence with one gate only, inside which is a row of fire. I do not know whether this must be kept burning, but it seems that it is lit every morning only, and allowed to go out at night. This fire has no special name.



Ho Boha. The *instruments* used for making the semicircular incisions on the boys' faces are a sharp knife and an awl (*lemaho*) bent at one end. Any knife or awl may be used and no special preparation of doctoring them is observed.

The *operator* is called *Mooetje* and my informant, who himself had been an operator, said anyone who liked and who was skilful with his hands could be an operator. The number varied with the number of boys present but there were usually from five to eight operators. In some parts it is necessary that each boy be operated on by a man under his own *legota*, but I have not been able to discover whether such was the case at the head kraal.

The *operation* is performed outside the *Lesoso* but near the entrance, and while it takes place there is much drumming and singing by men inside. It is not a surprise to the boys, for everyone knows the *Komana* marks on the faces of those who have been there. It is nevertheless a very painful process for the cuts must be deep and there are eight of them—four on either side of the face, ranging from the mouth to the ear. The awl is stuck in the cheek to lift up the flesh and with the knife a semicircular cut is made. They always begin at the mouth and finish one side before beginning on the other, but this appears to be pure custom and it would not be taboo to do it another way. The cuts are made so that the horns of the crescent face towards the mouth. Once the cuts have been made, the boys are called *maboha* (from “*boha*”). No medicine is put on the face to stop the bleeding; but when the incisions have stopped bleeding, charcoal (*mesedi*) is smeared into them, possibly so that the cuts will show when they have healed. This charcoal is prepared by the men while the operation is in progress, by burning branches from the fence of the *lesoso* in the fire that is inside.

There seems to be no special attempt on the part of the boys to be manly, for many of them cry with pain. They are allowed to see their companions being operated on.

Entering the Lesoso

When all are ready, the initiates enter the *lesoso* in a body. They are expectant and excited, for now will be revealed to them the sacred drums and they may even meet the dreaded *badaja* (spirits of ancestors) who are said to be in the *lesoso* when the *Komana* is on. While they enter, the special *Komana* song is being sung. They are made to stand on either side of the *Komana* drums, accompanied by a group of the men. Before them and on the other side of the fire stand six to twelve men, facing

the fire, with the instruments called *Mantsakota* in their hands. They are different lengths ranging from 2" to 6" and consist of two pieces of wood, more or less triangular in shape, with a piece of reed between them. Through these whistles they talk the whistling language in the high-pitched tone used by the *dajane*. And now for the first time the initiates see who are the *dajane* that come at sunset after the *Tukula* and *Mokato* ceremonies to talk to the people, and to frighten women and children, pretending to be the spirits of ancestors.

Many of the initiates are already acquainted with this whistling language for it is in common use among herd-boys, but they will not know the songs that are now taught them.

Method of Teaching. One of the men representing the *dajane* will give the first phrase. The men with the boys will then pretend not to understand and will say it out loud in words, asking if that is what is meant. The *dajane* will answer "*Ee*" (yes) and in this way all will know the meaning.

In the *Komana* there is no beating of the boys and they are not required to be perfect in the songs, for they go home that same day. Thus the object appears to be really to show the boys the secrets of the *Komana*.

Period of Seclusion. Now for a month (until the wounds have healed) the boys must not let women see these incisions and so the whole day is spent in the veld in a special *kgoro* surrounded by a fence; and they return home only after dark, to sleep together in one hut in the village.

After the *Komana* the boys depart, all those from the same village remaining together, and accompanied by *metape* who have been through the last *Komana*. They return home to the village after sunset, where they find a piece of cloth left for them by their father. In olden days it was a piece of skin but for a long, long time cloth has been used. This cloth was obtained from Portuguese East and Durban in the days before Kimberley or any Transvaal towns were in existence. This cloth is worn over the whole head, tied over the forehead and under the chin; only a small opening is left for the eyes.

The camp. In the morning the boys repaired to their special *kgoro* in the veld—this has no special name. They spent their time in herding and hunting, but this hunting was never organised like that of the *wodika*. The men brought the cattle out to the boys in the fields.

Behaviour. The boys were not allowed to shout to each other but had to employ the whistling language. It was permissible to talk only when they were alone and very near each other.

Every morning when they washed, the boys put more charcoal on their wounds. This they got from their own fire in the *kgoro*. It may therefore be that there is no significance attached in the use of charcoal from the fence of the *lesoso* in the first instance, when the cuts are made : it may be a matter of convenience.

Food. Food is brought to the veld by the *metape* for the "*maboha*:" this is not especially prepared but is merely what they would eat if they were at home.

Return Home. When their wounds are healed the boys destroy their *kgoro* : they do not burn it but merely break down the fence. Then after breakfast they go to the river with the *metape*, where they wash their bodies before returning home. They do not wear new clothes, and the only change in their status that is noticeable is that they may now swear by using the word "*Komatona*." The veils of cloth are not destroyed.

The *Komana* "school" does not in any way resemble the circumcision school: there are no special taboos, no chastisement, no hardships (except for the actual operation) and the seclusion appears to be merely for the purpose of hiding from the women who may not see their cuts—and perhaps for a little practise in the whistling language. As a "school" the *Komana* seems to be the introduction of these newly-made "men" to the secrets of the tribal religion—the *badaja* and the sacred drums.

End of Komana

The boys leave for home on the first day but the *Komana* continues for six days. It is strictly "*ho ila*" to have it on the 7th day.

At some time on the 6th day (usually in the afternoon) all the men make a prolonged sound "*rrrrr*" as a sign of the finish and the drums are taken back to *Moholwe*. The finishing of the *Komana* is called "*ho ofa*," i.e. the *Komana* has flown.

HOEING THE QUEEN'S FIELD

The *Daja* and *Komana* ceremonies took place in the month *Pebelelo* and the rain falling that month as a result, the first rain of the season, was called "*tseola*"—the rain for sowing. On this day no work is done for it is said "the earth is still hot."

The Sekwarekware

No one is to sow *mpoho*, which is the oldest grain, before the special field of the chief called *Sekwarekware* or *Letsoete* has been hoed. Hoeing, however, may be done at any time. When the kaffir boom is in bloom (August) people begin to dig in marshy places where they plant advance crops to sustain them till the ordinary crops can be reaped. When *Selemela* is overhead at sunrise, it is time to dig the dry lands.

There is no hard and fast rule about the digging because there are two ways of planting. The oldest method is to wait for the rain, then the seed is first scattered on the land, after which the hoeing is done. The other method, a more recent innovation and possibly copied from Shangaans, is to dig and wait for the rain. It is called *ho kopela*. The seeds (mealies or pumpkin) are put in the mouth of the sower, a hole is made and a seed dropped into it, till the whole field is planted. This method does not lend itself to the sowing of corn.

As soon as the first rain has fallen and never later than a week after, the *Sekwarekware* must be hoed. In this field *mpoho* is always planted (a kind of kaffir corn and the sacred grain of the Balobedu, used always for offerings to the spirits) and the method employed is that of scattering the seed and then digging. This field is never ploughed but always hoed, though most agriculture is done by ploughing nowadays. The queen has two *matsoete* but only one need be done at this stage.

Messengers are sent to summon the people to come to hoe in the royal fields and all the people of the neighbourhood come early in the morning. Those living far away do not attend, but nevertheless wait until this field has been planted before they do their own sowing. The chief must take the lead in the tribe and we find her precedence not only here but in all the great religious ceremonies as well.

Doctoring the Hoes

On the arrival of the people at the head kraal, all with their hoes, they have to put them down in a heap in the enclosure next to that hut of Modjadge's which has the two doors. This is a very special hut and it is within the queen's private apartments. Majeela, an old and very influential man at court, now fetches the horn of *Mofoko* and the brush made of beaten monkey-rope, and with this he sprinkles the medicine on the hoes. This medicine and its powers will be discussed below : it is prepared by Modjadge herself and given by her councillors to Majeela. In the old days, before digging, all hoes were brought to the chief and on the iron a white cross of medicine was made. It was called *ho rona* but I am not sure whether this was the same as the above ceremony.

Singing. As at all *machema* where people work in a crowd, the people when digging the *sekwarekware* work in unison, singing hoeing songs while they do so. It is a very picturesque sight, not alone for the singing and the rhythm of the work, but because every now and then one of the workers advances from the line, *pebelas* (does a dancing step) and then returns to resume her work. The songs sung at a *lechema* are connected with the work being done and in them good workers are praised while the idle are mocked at. A typical song is

Babohadi ba re " U a leme " (sung by one or two people)

Reply. Tetedi tjepe mpolae tetedi

I.e. "my people-in-law say I am lazy, I can't hoe; so to-day I want you (the hoe) to kill me."

The song mocks at the lazy ones who only work when people are watching.

The work was usually finished by about 10 o'clock in the morning.

EXTRAORDINARY RAIN CEREMONIES

(1) THE MOFOKO CEREMONY. If, however, rain does not come in *Pebelelo* we find that extraordinary ceremonies are necessary and one of these, the *Mofoko*, usually takes place in the following month, *Marenane*.^(*) The *Sekwarekware* field is hoed and immediately after, the boys run as fast as they can back to the head kraal where they are given horns of *Mofoko* from Majeela. Their alacrity is due to the reward they will get when they bring this *Mofoko* to the different kraals.

The medicine (Mofoko). There is much secrecy with regard to the actual nature of this *Mofoko* medicine. It is undoubtedly rain medicine and is prepared by the chief (or the official rain-maker for the year) but why it should be put on the hoes, is difficult to understand unless rain medicine is conceived as fertility medicine and this power is given to the hoes to convey to the soil that is hoed. The actual *Mofoko* ceremony resembles much more a purification of the land, as we shall see—a removal of evil from the hearths, that is holding back the rain by angering the ancestors.

The chief ingredient of *Mofoko* medicine is the brain of an enemy. It has always been the custom to keep the brains of enemies, by mixing

(*)It is possible that the *Mofoko* used to be held every year and that nowadays only, it is not observed when rain is plentiful.

them with ashes and drying them in round balls. A doctor prepares this brain, which, when used for *mofoko* is mixed with other medicines. Thus the use of human ingredients is not confined to the *komana* drum. It is possible that this *Mofoko* may be identical with the great rain medicine of the chief, also kept in a horn. How the rain medicine is used, remains a mystery—one does not hear of the burning of rain medicine as among the Bechuana and Bapedi but this may be due to the fact that all this would take place in the bush behind the royal kraal where the rain medicine is kept, and all is enshrouded in the strictest secrecy.

The Ceremony

On receiving the *Mofoko* which they put into horns which they themselves provide, the boys run to the different kraals in small groups, each group trying to visit as many as possible. When they reach a village they sprinkle *Mofoko* on the fire in the *kgoro* by means of a certain creeper which is used as a brush. The fire having in this way been put out, the old coals and ashes are thrown away and the *monya motse* kindles a new fire by means of twirling sticks. It appears that nowadays they are not particular about making the fire with sticks, the idea being merely to have a new fire. The boys then proceed to the kitchen huts in which they sprinkle the medicine on the hearth or on the threshold. When this has been done no one, male or female, who happened to be in the hut at the time may go out, and no woman may enter till the rest of the ceremony has been completed. An old woman has to take the old coals out, throw them away and then re-smear the floor of the hut.

Payments. In the old days each married woman then went to get a brand of the newly-kindled *kgoro* fire for her own hut, in return for which she brought some mealies or monkey-nuts for the men of the *kgoro*. Nowadays, however, each woman would probably use matches to light her fire.

The boys, however, receive from the head of each family a fowl in return for their services—hence their desire to visit as many villages as they can. In the old days an arrow was usually given, or sometimes mealies, by the *monya motse* only.

Each boy takes one fowl to Majeela in payment for the *mofoko* which he provided them with.

On the day on which they receive *mofoko* the people of the village do no work, but this is not the same day for all, since it takes the boys three to four days to visit all the kraals, as they go beyond the location boundary

to territory that was Modjadge's in the old days. For ceremonial purposes the white man's fence is not regarded in the least. There appears to be no organisation of the ceremony and no allocation of kraals to the boys; the different groups go where they will.

The *Mofoko* ceremony is performed at the head kraal on the day before the *Sekwarekwaae* is hoed.

An interesting episode occurring in 1927 shows the extent to which respect for tradition and belief in medicine has broken down among the young people. A number of boys, too lazy to go to the head kraal for the *Mofoko* and hoping, perhaps, to gain time on their comrades, took matters into their own hands and made a mixture of ashes and water, which the *Mofoko* mixture resembles. This they used on their rounds. They were discovered, and the whole ceremony had to be performed again. The boys were severely punished, however, for not only were all their fowls and the money received taken away, but each one was fined five head of cattle—an enormous fine.

(2) REMOVAL OF IMPURITY AND BY BREAKING-CUSTOMS AND TABOOS. If still no rain falls after the *Mofoko* ceremony it is thought that there must be other impurity in the land and that customs have not been properly observed; for the ancestors are great upholders of tribal tradition and will revenge transgressions of this nature on the part of their descendants.

Now there are certain people that *must* be buried in wet places, viz.

(1) the one of twins that has to be killed. Such a child is buried in a pot in wet soil near the river.

(2) babies cutting their upper teeth first are killed and buried in wet soil.

(3) babies that die before they have cut their teeth—*macheche*.

(4) initiates dying in the *wodika*.

(5) men that die of *lehotola*—a coughing illness contracted through having intercourse with a woman who has aborted, without both parties having previously been doctored with medicine made of part of the destroyed foetus. This is an illness that causes the death of many Natives especially nowadays when, owing to the long absence from home of the men, their wives are often unfaithful, and then are too much afraid to confess on the return of their husband. While we were in the reserve the uncle of our interpreter became ill with *lehotola* and as soon as it was seen what illness he had, everyone, including the patient, was convinced that his death was at hand and true enough he died a few days later.

Often people neglect to bury these people in wet soil but when there is continued drought, their conscience begins to prick them, and the corpses are dug up and re-buried in wet soil. In this way they hope to undo the harm.

(3) HO LOBA PULA. If the drought is excessive, the people appeal to the queen because it is thought that she can make the required rain, if only she is willing to do so. The *magota* go to the head kraal in turn or several agree to go together, taking with them presents in cattle or money. On their arrival at the head kraal they dance for rain—*ho loba pula*. Each *legota* hopes that his will be a successful plea. As a last resort people called the *Batobolo* come to *loba* and they are thought to have greater powers of moving the queen than others, by virtue of a special dance called *lekubatele* which is regarded as a sort of god (*modimo*). For this dance two drums, one round and one long, are used, and men, instead of women do the drumming. Reed pipes are used and there seems to be a good deal of marching in the dance (marching is absent in Balobedu dancing). The *Batobolo* came from Portuguese territory originally, but have lived for a long time among the Balobedu. They live on territory belonging to the *legota* Mabulane, and have the lion as their totem. They do not intermarry with the Balobedu and their accent is different. When they first came to the country, the *magota* had all *lobaed* unsuccessfully for rain, but when they came with their wonderful dance, they arrived home "wet with rain." For this reason special powers of persuasion are attributed to the *Batobolo*.

If things are bad, even women may go and dance. They sing "The country is dying and you men must be careful. Don't stare and hang your legs over the pegs" (i.e. don't be so pleased with yourselves). This dancing for rain may last a whole month, as every *legata* goes in turn. The dancing never takes place in the night. In fact the Balobedu never dance (i.e. dance in a ring, as is the custom) at night after the cattle are home though the *Malopo* doctors may dance, and individuals may dance alone—women *pebela*, etc.

The Balubedu dance for rain in order to please the queen, not so much to excite her pity, but I have not been able to investigate fully the psychology underlying this dancing. It is the custom too, when a well-known man dies, for his friends and relatives to come and "comfort" the bereaved ones by dancing.

(4) **SACRIFICING TO ANCESTORS OF IMPORTANT MAGOTA.** When the drought is bad the *ngaka* is consulted. The *malume* of the queen, Moneri's father, has been known to go about to doctors, asking them to throw their bones and see what was to be done. They advised him to kill an ox and pray at Khata (near Duivelskloof) as Sebetwane's mother was buried there. Often when the royal ancestors fail, the people try to placate the *badima* of important *magota*, e.g. those of Morotseta by sacrificing oxen and praying at their graves.

RAIN TABOOS

Besides *mpoho*, which is the oldest grain, there is another crop which has special significance. *Ditoho marapo*, a kind of monkey-nut, which has also been in use from the earliest times, is thought to have special power to "catch the sky and cause drought." For this reason it is not planted during the year after the chief's death when the supply of rain may be in danger. *Marapo* was never, in the old days, planted till after the first-fruit ceremony (*Mokato*) when the effect of possible drought was not so much to be feared. After the *Mokato* the women were called to go and plant *marapo* in the other *letsoete* of the chief. It seems then, that in the old days, at any rate, in the two special fields of the chief that were cultivated by the tribe, only these two special crops, *mpoho* and *marapo* were planted.

During the rainy season bulls are never castrated but the Natives have assured me that it is not *ho ila* to do so, as is reported from the Bechuana, but that there is a purely rational explanation—in the rainy season blue flies lay eggs in the wounds, causing serious complications.

There are certain trees, too, that are never cut in summer because unless they are laid in water, weevils attack the wood.

B. THE CROPS

Once all or some of the above-mentioned ceremonies have been effective in producing rain, the people set about their planting.

Crops planted. The two methods used in planting have already been mentioned. The crops planted are *leseela* (mealies), various kinds of kaffir-corn—*mpoho*, *lehoja* or *lebele*, *makaha* (red kaffir-corn), *madipa*, *mamosela* (resembling *madipa*, which is a red corn; *leroje* (pumpkin), *dinawa* (native bean), *ditode* (another kind of bean), *ditoho maake* (ordinary monkey-nuts), *ditoho marapo* (monkey-nuts singly in their pods), *metote* (sugar cane), usually used as a boundary between fields, and various kinds of gourds.

Fertilisation. (1) Most often different crops are planted together in one field, and by this means, the soil is prevented to some extent perhaps, from being impoverished, though the Natives do not practise the custom at all with this object in view. Mealies and *mpoho* or mealies and pumpkin are planted together. The different kinds of kaffir corn are often mixed and in the lowlands where there is water, beans are planted with mealies.

(2) What is left of the old mealie stalks and weeds are hoed into the soil when the seed is sown and this is an aid to fertilisation.

(3) A few Natives have begun to use manure as a fertiliser but they are looked down upon by the others for imitating a useless white man's custom.

(4) *Mosuhelo* is special medicine used with the definite object of fertilising the crops but its use is secret because only *baloi* use such medicine. In the old days if a person's crops stood better than his neighbours' he was suspected of foul play and was liable to be charged with being a *moloi* and killed by order of the chief; nowadays, however, the use of *mosuhelo* is much more frequent, owing to Shangaan influence; for among Shangaans seed is always doctored at sowing time. A common method is to put such medicine (always obtained from a doctor) on four pegs planted on the boundary of the field in the four directions and perhaps one in the middle, on the day it is hoed. Sometimes *mosuhelo* is mixed with the seed.

The reason why the use of *mosuhelo* is looked upon as such a crime by the Balobedu is because its use involves the death of someone and human flesh got from corpses forms an ingredient. When you have received *mosuhelo* from a doctor (and such doctor is a *moloi* as well) he requires as payment the death of some relative. If you refuse to allow him to cause the death of someone else, he will cause your own death.

The method used by the *moloi* to cause the illness and eventual death of the person is as follows :—One night he takes him out of his hut, leaving a wolf in his place so that no one will miss him. In the veld he cuts him into pieces and tosses them about on the sand, after which he puts him together again. Next day the victim feels ill and this is the beginning of the end. When the patient is buried it is really only his shadow that is laid to rest for the witches have carried the real man away and put him in a *sefala* (large pot made of earth and dung and used for storing monkey-nuts, etc.) These victims, for there are many of them, are called *Tsoitotoane* and it is they who work in the fields of their master the *moloi* at night, weeding them and tending them and

so causing his crops to be better than his neighbours'. A person who uses *mosuhelo* and is thus a *moloi* will never burn his rubbish, collected when clearing a field prior to ploughing, in the day, as other people do. But when the others are gone in the evening he takes grass between his legs and lights the end. Then he rides on this to each heap and sets it alight by means of the burning grass !

Labour. In this tribe men have a greater share in the work of agriculture than in most others ; for every man has at least one large field which he must cultivate himself for the use of his family. Each wife is entitled to a share of this produce. All the ploughing is done by men, for women may not work with the cattle, and in addition to this the men usually do the reaping of their own fields and make the small storehouses for their wives. There is, however, a distinction in the sort of crops planted by the sexes. Men plant mostly mealies and kaffir-corn, the vegetable products being confined to women : monkey-nuts and pumpkin are never planted by men, and beans and other vegetables, all are cultivated by women.

Weeding is mostly women's work and when a man's field requires weeding, he may ask his wives to do it or he may have beer brewed and hold a *lechema*. Women seldom have a *lechema* but very often when a woman's husband is away she may use his mealies and *mpoho* to hold a *lechema* for the purpose of having storehouses made for her crops.

Bird-scaring. The chief enemies of the growing crops, especially corn, are the birds, and during summer the children are kept very busy scaring the birds from the fields. Often the whole family is kept busy. Sometimes a hawk or owl is killed and the skin put on a tree in the field to act as a scarecrow. But usually the birds are scared by throwing small stones at them—stones that will not destroy the ripening crops. On a raised piece of ground in the fields a *moako* is always built for the purpose of scaring birds. It is a platform resting on four poles on which people can stand so as to have a better view of the field. From this vantage point stones are thrown ; or sometimes a *keferere* (" *klei lat* ") is used and often a *kerahamatje* (kicker of the stone) or sling is employed. A clever device employed is that of tying string to sticks planted all over the field to which calabashes or tins containing stones are hung. When the string is pulled all the small stones rattle making sufficient noise to scare the birds away.

Ho Upa. If the birds become so troublesome that people begin to despair, they approach the *legota* of the land, who calls in the assistance of a doctor.

The doctor accompanied by many boys and girls under puberty, goes to the lands where he burns medicine, making a lot of smoke. He and the children then go round the fields smearing medicine on the grass outside, and the leaves of the crops inside, the fields. They tie knots in the grass and corn on the outer boundary. The doctor merely supervises while the children do this for they are the chief actors in the play. If small children are not available, old women, past childbearing age may do this but on no account may anyone leading a sexual life be employed ; on the day and night on which the doctor comes to *upa* no one must have sexual relations lest the birds return.

When the medicine has been put on the grass the doctor or the children blow on a *naka* (bone flute) to " call the birds away " and often the doctor, as he departs, draws the attention of the birds to the fields of some neighbouring *legota* where they might go !

This ceremony is always performed late in the afternoon and the children return home after sunset. Without talking to anyone, they go straight to the hut of the chief wife of the village where they have their food and sleep that night.

Early next morning, when it is still dark the children proceed to the river where they wash themselves. They talk to each other in whispers only but may not speak to anyone else even if addressed, lest the birds return. At about 10 o'clock they return home and now they may behave in a normal way again.

The people do not go to the fields the day after the doctor has *upa'd* but the following day they will find on their arrival a heap of medicated stones left in the fields by the doctor. The first-comer must throw these stones in the four directions of space.

The payment of the doctor comes at reaping-time when every woman is expected to take a small basket (*tsana*) of corn or mealies to the *legota*, who uses the contributions to brew beer in honour of the doctor.

Sometimes monkeys are also *upa'd*.

When wild pigs threaten the crops the men often have to sleep in the fields. For this purpose and also for rainy weather, shelters (*ketopa*) consisting of a roof on poles or small round grass huts (*mokobe*) are used. The *mokobe* is interesting because it is not made after the style of ordinary huts. It consists of a more or less dome-shaped frame of sticks covered with grass.

EATING THE FIRST FRUITS

The Balobedu, like primitive people in general, have the conception that it is dangerous to partake of the new crops without first fortifying yourself by eating them in an attenuated form together with *chide*—medicine. This is called *ho luma*. It is necessary to *luma* before eating the new green vegetables that ripen in about January, but it is also necessary to *luma* the new kaffir-corn at harvest time. In January the *chide* is always put in *lekwatse*, the oldest kind of pumpkin there is, while in reaping time it is *mpoho* and *makgaa*, the oldest kinds of corn that are *luma'd*.

Connected with the *luma'ing* of the green vegetables there are the remnants of an old ceremony, the *Mokato*, the significance of which appears to have been entirely lost to the people who now practise it. Indeed many families have no *Mokato* any more, though they all know about it.

THE MOKATO.

The evening before the *Mokato* is held the chief wife of the *monya motse* prepares the *lekwatse*—pumpkin, into which she puts the *chide* which has been obtained from the *legota*. The *legota* gets the medicine from some doctor.

Offering to Spirits. The *monya motse* then calls upon the ancestors and places some of the pumpkin on the ground for them as an offering. The elders in the kraal appear to partake of this on that evening.

The Mokato 'par excellence.' Next morning before sunrise the young men and girls (*khoba*, i.e. those who have already reached puberty) take the cattle to a spot far away. I have been unable to discover whether all the people of one *legota* combine and hold only one *Mokato*, or whether each village has its own—there was much disagreement among my informants on this point. It does not, however, appear to be a matter dealt with by the *moloko* nor is the ceremony looked upon with any of the religious feelings found in the *Tukula*—harvest ceremony. Young married people and any who feel "young" join the throng and when they arrive at the chosen spot there is much dancing and merriment. A special song called *tipu* used to be sung on this occasion but the only old man who knew it, had conveniently "forgotten" it when asked to sing it. He said he thought it had no reference to the new fruits in it at all. As this was a festive occasion the men wore *kebote*, i.e. skins of wild cats, in the old days, and all dressed their hair in a way called *leko-ko*, with charcoal on it to blacken it. They played on their reed pipes

and *mpalapala* and now for the first time in the new year the *lengwane* could be played. Very often the spot chosen was at a river and then there was swimming too. The game that is (even now) played while the young folk are in the veld is one called *giya* in which the boys catch hold of the breasts of the girls. The game is often played and is not confined to this occasion like the *tipu*.

The return home. At midday an alarm is raised, one of the boys shouting "eeeeu," and all know that this is the signal to return home. The young people express their joy and gladness by racing home as fast as they can, chasing the cattle before them. Even the cattle are made to kick up their hind legs to show their joy! The boys have a race back to the kraal with the young heifers and bulls and the one in front carried a banner of feathers (*sefaka*) which he had to hand on to anyone passing him. The boy who arrived first at the kraal with the young beast was praised—women often *mokulukwane'd* on his arrival and the ox has been known to have *mafi*, thick milk, smeared on its face as a reward.

The Meal. On their way home the girls pick some sugar-cane while the boys or men on their arrival at the kraal milk the cows. Food has been prepared by the women who remained at home and this is now eaten together with the milk, by all those who have come from the veld. The young people all eat together in the *mosha* of the chief hut.⁽⁷⁾ The first dish that is partaken of, must, however, be the cooked *lekwatse* containing *chide*. When eating the sugar cane the young people follow the usual custom of eating only the young top end, giving the older, thicker end to their elders.

Very often the young people spend the rest of the day in dancing but this does not always happen, though it is in keeping with the general atmosphere of festivity prevailing. The cattle are taken back to the pastures by the small boys or older men.

At the head kraal the *badaja* come in the evening. Certain old trusted men from some other kraal play the part: they dress in skins and hide in the bush where they utter thin wails through their *mantsakota*. Often they mention their own names (names of dead ancestors) and say "we are the *badima* and are going home to *Daja*." The talking is done in the whistling language and the women and children are very much afraid when they hear this. The *badaja* sometimes throw sticks and stones and this they used to do in the old days to anyone who had trans-

(7) Some say in the *kgoro*.

gressed the rules and eaten of the first fruits before the *Mokato*. If there happens to be beer in the kraal some is taken to a certain spot and the *dajane* are asked to refresh themselves.

The day of the *Mokato* was always a holiday but now it is not always observed as such.

It may be well to mention here that, according to my oldest informant, people whose parents were still living never ate *chide*. This was done by the parents for the children. For a month after their elders had *luma'd*, the young people abstained from the new green vegetables. Then a hunt took place and young buffaloes were killed, this being their breeding-time. On their return home from the hunt the first fruits were partaken of.

This hunt does not appear to be connected with the first fruit ceremony and my informant probably was confusing memories of his young days, for I have not been able to confirm his statements.

Meaning of Mokato. As far as it is possible to judge from the ceremony as it is practised to-day, the *Mokato* seems to have little more significance than that of a festive celebration of the ripening of the first crops of the season, for one can *luma* the first-fruits without having the *Mokato*. It would, however, be unwise to pronounce it as such before having investigated the question much more deeply and thoroughly than has been possible to do up to now.

THE REAPING

Before the reaping was begun in the old days, the second *Komana* was held "to bless the reaping." It resembled the first in every way but was not preceded by a visit to *Daja*. It was held to thank the spirits for their bounty.

Mealies. When reaping mealies, the people either strip them at once, or, as is far more usual nowadays, they are thrown into a heap and later stripped *en masse* by several people. The mealies are then carried home in baskets by women, in bags by the men.

Storing. Mealies still on the cob are stored temporarily in a *kefate*—a cylinder made of sticks with the bottom raised from the ground. Usually grass is twined round these sticks, a custom adopted from the Shangaans. *Ho kokosha* is the process of de-cobbing the mealies, which is done with the hand or by scraping the mealie on a stone. The real storing-pit, which is underground, is the *seletese*. These pits are made in the *kgoro* or in the cattle kraal and the sides are usually smeared.

Before the actual hole is made the *mosha* of the pit is made, i.e. a shallow hole with a much larger circumference than that of the pit is dug. After the mealies have been put in the pit they are covered with bark from *marula* trees, which has been flattened and softened by heating. A flat stone is then placed on top of the bark and the *mosha* of the pit filled up again, but not before manure has been smeared over the stone to keep water out. When the pit is to be opened for use it is easy to find the exact spot by beating on the ground till the stone is heard.

Grinding. Mealies are stamped into meal by means of a long wooden stamper with a knob at the top end for increasing its weight. The mealies to be ground are placed in a hollow wooden receptacle made out of a tree trunk. The woman has to stand while she pounds. This is, however, not the true Balobedu method and these stampers are never allowed in the royal kraal.

Corn, on the other hand, is ground by means of two stones, one large flat one (*loala*) and a smaller round one for grinding. The woman sits on her knees and uses both hands.

Kaffir corn. Corn is reaped by being cut with a knife into a bag or basket and is then carried to a specially prepared spot in the fields called a *morala*. This is a smeared spot with several shallow holes about 9" deep called *keleto*. Before each hole is smeared with dung, several stones are placed at the bottom so that the corn will more easily be threshed. The *morala* is usually made beside a *Moako*, which is at this stage used for storing the heads of corn till the threshing is done. In addition a *letole* resembling an inverted roof of a hut, supported by poles, may be used as a receptacle for the corn. Much grass is placed on top of the corn, otherwise it will all be eaten by the birds. When threshing, the women place the corn in the *kelete* and then stamp it with a *mose* (stamper). They sit down when doing this.

Winnowing is done with a shallow wooden basket in which the threshed corn is thrown up for the wind to catch the chaff.

The Balobedu do not forget their ancestors when things go well, for not only do they hold the second *Komana* as a thanksgiving to the spirits of the old chiefs before reaping, but after the reaping, *mpoho* beer is carried to various graves of old chiefs as an offering.

THE HARVEST CEREMONY

Before the new *mpoho* may be partaken of in any form it, too, must be *luma'd* but before this is done a special thank-offering must be

given to the spirits. This *Tukula* ceremony is the great religious ceremony of the year and it is therefore more than a mere fortification of the system against the possible evils of the new *mpoho*.

For this ceremony the members of the *moloko*—(lineage) all gather together at the village of their recognised head. It is the occasion for a re-union of the lineage and the whole religious setting—the fact that they all pray to the same ancestors helps greatly to strengthen the bonds of kinship that hold them together. That the Natives themselves feel some of the forces that are at work in a gathering of this nature when they realise the bonds of kinship, common interests and religion that unite them with other members of the *moloko*, is illustrated in the words of an informant. In explaining the function (as he conceived it) of the *Tukula* ceremony, he said “The *Tukula* gives you a blessing; the blessing comes from the gathering itself. It blesses the people present and their land.”

This ceremony is certainly the most important ceremony of the year.

The Tukula. The word *tukula* is used in a number of different senses varying from the shrine of the lineage to ornaments worn as charms. Anything dedicated to the ancestors, such as the goat or ox of the ancestors found in every *moloko*, or anything once used and possessed by them is thought to have power. For this reason it is difficult to get the Balobedu to part with anything old—old beads, old hoes, etc. They are always kept as a *tukula*. The *tukula* shrine of the lineage is always to be found beside the hut of the head of the lineage. It consists of a mound of earth stained with the beer-marks of former offerings, but when it is made there is always a sacrifice to the spirits. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by the members of the *moloko* and the bones must all be buried beside or under this mound by the *khadi*, who officiates. Thus the shrine of the Balobedu is built on the bones of the sacrificial beast. Whenever the *tukula* ox or goat is killed, owing to old age, and a new one is chosen, its bones are buried in the *tukula* and the meat is eaten sacrificially by the *moloko*. This beast has always to be killed at that time of the day when the last head of the *moloko* died; if at night, then the beast is killed at sunset. As this is the only occasion for a blood sacrifice among the Balobedu, the *tukula* assumes very great importance.

No other kraal in the *moloko* may have a *tukula* unless it is very far from the head of the *moloko* in which case the people have to get the permission of the true representative of the ancestors of the lineage. A doctor usually has his own *tukula* to which he prays at various times, and a *lepetsi*—youngest child, who always inherits from the mother, may,

on advice from a doctor, make a *tukula* for his dead mother. All these minor *tukulas* have been, when I have seen them, different from the great *tukula*. They have consisted of a stone and a twig planted side by side in the ground. But a great *tukula* need not always be a mound, for at the kraal of Mokohe beer is poured on a raised "stoep" of mud just outside the entrance to the chief hut.

The Officiator. The priest of the *moloko* and officiator at the *tukula* when a harvest or sacrificial ceremony is held, is the *rakhadi*, the father's eldest sister or eldest sister of the head of the *moloko*.⁽⁸⁾ The eldest woman in the *moloko* is the priestess, but the sister of the head of the *moloko* cannot officiate until her brother's death. On the death of the last *rakhadi* to the head of the *moloko*, her first-born, male or female, will be asked to act in her capacity until the death of the *moloko* head, when his sister will act as *rakhadi* to his son. In some families the head of the *moloko* himself officiates and there is reason to believe that this happens when the *rakhadi* is dead, as well as in cases when the *rakhadi* is still alive but plays a less important part in the ceremony.

Preparation. I have not been able to discover whether there are any preparations on the part of the officiator for the ceremonies—observance of taboos, etc.

The Mpoho Beer. *Mpoho* is the special grain that must always be used when an offering is made to the ancestors and on this occasion the new *mpoho* must be used. But not alone is this beer always to be made with this sacred grain, it is also distinguished from ordinary beer in its preparation:—

(1) Usually beer is made of *mpoho* mixed with mealies or with some other corn, such as *madipa*; and, in fact the beer that is brewed on this occasion to be drunk by the people after the ceremony and called "*madumelo*" is so mixed. But the "beer of the *Tukula*" must be of pure *mpoho*.

(2) *Tukula* beer must never be squeezed beer and it never ferments much.

(3) In the old days the *mpoho* for *tukula* beer was, in contradistinction to usual custom, never to be ground on a *loala* (grinding stone used for all corn) but stamped in a mealie stamper. The *madumelo* which was made at the same time was ground on a *loala*.

(*) No woman who is not yet past child-bearing age may officiate; the priestess must be an old woman, who no longer menstruates.

(4) It must be made by the *rakhadi* or by the chief wife of the head of the *moloko*.

The *tukula* beer, then, must be different from ordinary profane beer, but it does not appear to be prepared in any specially consecrated utensils, and the pot in which it is placed for the actual ceremony is not a special one.

The Chide. Into the *madumelo* is put *chide* (medicine) which the head of every *moloko* has in his possession. Each *moloko* has its own special *chide* obtained in the first instance from doctors, but handed down in the family. Since the *chide* is not put into the beer of the *Tukula*, it would seem that in the course of the *Tukula* ceremony when all the members present partake of the sacred beer, the action is regarded as part of the ceremony, the communal meal so frequently found in sacrifice—not as the first taste of the new crops, in which case the beer should contain *chide*.

Time of the Ceremony

The *Tukula* ceremony must be held either early in the morning, soon after sunrise or in the evening, just before or just after sunset. The true Balobedu have theirs in the morning but many *meloko* hold it in the evening.

People Present. All the members of the *moloko* who can come are present, including the married women, whose children belong to a different *moloko* from theirs. In front of the *tukula* sits the *khadi* and beside her sits the head of the lineage, with his brothers and other important male relatives near by. The women and children sit further from the *tukula*, while right at the back of the *mosha* are the wives of the kraal, who take no part in the ceremony. An important position, is, however, held by the chief wife for she sits very near the *tukula*, but this is because she is the one who must carry in the beer.

Attitude. All must sit as women do, on their knees, with both palms held upwards. Even the small children must be on their knees but naturally, during the ceremony they forget to hold their palms up and often begin to play and fiddle about. The children are, however, very important in this ceremony; they sit very near the *khadi* and it is more particularly for them that she prays.

On this occasion old beads or any old hoe of native manufacture may be placed beside the mound, for they are cherished as objects once possessed by the very spirits that will be called upon during the ceremony,

and to whom the beer will be offered. In many cases the *tukula* ox is present too and if tame enough, will be given beer to drink, because it represents the gods.

Then the pot or calabash of beer is brought in a *kerotwana* by the chief wife. It is customary for a young wife always to bring her husband's food to him in a *kerotwana* and when there is a guest to be honoured, his food is so carried. Thus the spirits are treated with the utmost deference by having their pot of beer brought in a *kerotwana*, as befits the occasion.

The Prayer. Once the beer has come, the *Khadi* begins. Pouring a little of the beer over the mound, she calls upon the ancestors in the male line, beginning with the oldest known forefather, mentioning all by name; the deceased father of the *moloko* head when called upon, is asked to tell all those ancestors whose names have been forgotten and so not mentioned, to come and drink the beer. Last of all the mother of the kraal head may be called, for she is a parent, though not of the *moloko*. The *khadi's* are also mentioned by name and if a man is performing the ceremony the very first one to be called upon must be the *rakhadi* who is dead. Though I was told that only members of the lineage are called upon, in practice it seems that this is not always the case. Here is a prayer repeated to me by a *rakhadi* herself:—"I give you the new corn; I give to you, Serati, and also to you Matakoto (sister of the *rakhadi* officiating), I give to you Matsaka (the deceased kraal head), also to you Motanalo and to you Madiseka (*M.M.* of kraal head) and we ask you, gods, to help us." It is usual for the children to be particularly mentioned when the blessings of the spirits are asked. The *rakhadi* may hand the calabash over to the head of the lineage who will also pour some on the mound saying "we give you corn."

If the ox is present it is made to sip the beer immediately after the prayer. Then the *rakhadi* sips a little and puts the pot down for the next person to drink. It is passed round to all, including the children, each one taking a mouthful and then placing it on the ground for the next one to take up.

When the pot returns to the *khadi* she takes another mouthful saying "the one that gives to the gods must not sleep with hunger"—a well-known proverb. Thereupon she inverts the pot on top of the mound for the spirits to finish the rest. While the beer is being passed round, the chief wife *mokukulwane's* to express their joy at the bounty of the spirits. This sound, uttered in a high tremuloso, is not only a sign of joy; it is always made when something important in the lives of

the people is taking place—on the birth of a child, on the arrival of the bride at her husband's kraal or on the arrival of any of the *monoalo* cattle. And so this important reunion of the *moloko*, of the living members with the dead, expressed by drinking ritually the same beer, is an occasion on which there must be *mokulukwane'ing*—the sound increases in volume when the *khadi* drinks for she is the most important member of the assembly.

Feasting. The day on which the *Tukula* ceremony is held is a holiday and so after the ceremony there is dancing and feasting and the beer containing the *chide* is drunk. Anybody can take part in the feasting and, as usual, a large crowd is attracted by the beer. A special song is sung for the dancing on this day—"The gods told us to sleep soundly," i.e. to sleep without fear of calamity, for the people feel that, pleased with their gift of beer, the spirits will not be angry or send evil or disaster in any form. In view of this, it is interesting to note that nevertheless precautions are taken to make the *badima* sleep (so as not to send sicknesses, etc.). The members of the *moloko* do not return home after dark, but spend the night there "to make the *balima* sleep;" though why this should have the desired effect, is difficult to see.

The Dajane. In case of the Balobedu *moloko's* the *dajane* come in the evening, as they do after the *Mokatō*

In the *Tukula* ceremony as in all the others, the queen must take the lead and no one may hold the ceremony until it has been performed at the head kraal, the penalty being a fine of two head of cattle. No special message is sent when it has been held at the queen's place but the news spreads like wildfire and within a few days everybody has followed suit.

FUNCTION OF THE TUKULA CEREMONY

(1) It is the great and nowadays often the only religious ceremony of the year and it is the only one in which men, women and children take part together.

(2) It is an offering of the harvest product to the ancestors as an indication of thankfulness on the part of the living to the spirits who are responsible for the richness of the harvest, and to whom has been due the health of the living.

(3) It is also a prayer that these good things will continue, and here the children are mentioned as being specially in need of the care and blessings of the protecting spirits. Precautions are taken to make the

spirits sleep, for the Bantu never wish to be remembered by the spirits lest they send evil.

(4) The *Tukula* ceremony is the only occasion on which all the members of the lineage come together. They unite in the performance of an important ceremony and the solidarity of the group is renewed and strengthened; they drink beer together and dance and so the occasion unites them in happiness as well. But not only do the living members of the lineage meet; they are on this day made to realise their link with the dead members of the *moloko*, that they are joined to each other in a permanent union which not even death can destroy—and so the *Tukula* ceremony plays an extremely important part in maintaining the solidarity of the lineage group.

The Cattle and the New Crops. Before the cattle are let into the fields to eat the stubble, they, too, must be fortified against the evil results that the new crops might have on them. The doctor is consulted as to what herbs to use and these are cut up and left in water for two days. This water the cattle are made to drink. The process is called *Letjobeho*.

The man who gave me this information promised that he would let me witness the procedure, for the fields had already been reaped. But later he denied that there was any such custom. One night I was awakened by hearing cattle eating the dry mealie stalks in the fields round our tent, to the accompaniment of much whistling. On enquiring next day into the matter, I was told that as the cattle had broken out of the kraal the previous night and eaten in the fields, it was too late to give them the medicine! Possibly they had let the cattle out at night on purpose to escape our prying eyes—or it may be that the cattle must eat it at night on this occasion, though that is hardly likely.

With the *Tukula* ceremony the agricultural activities of the year are ended and the period elapsing between this and the beginning of the agricultural year is called *madulahae*—the time of staying at home. This time does not last very long, for as late as July Natives are still to be seen doing their reaping.

SOME CUSTOMS OF THE TRANSVAAL BASOTHO

Texts Collected and Translated

By G. H. FRANZ

Mekxwa le Borapedi bya Babaso.

The Customs and Religious Observances of the Native people.

Ngwaxa wa sexaxešo ó thóma ka kxwedi ya Naka, Lebolo. Ka matsatši ao xo letetšwexo xore Naka é tla dula ka óna, banna ba selete ba tšwa maxae kamoka, ba yo lala dithabeng. Moxongwê ba tsoxêlla e sa le xosasa ba fihla ba xôtša molló, ba lebelêla lexodimong ka thokó ya lehlakó, mo Naka e swanetšexo xo bónala xóna.

Our year begins during the month of *Naka* or *Lebolo*. During the days when the rising of the star (*Naka*) is expected all the men of the tribe leave their homes and camp out on the mountains. Sometimes they rise very early and arrived (on the mountains) they kindle fires and watch the skies to the South, where the star is expected to make its appearance.

Tuméló ya banna kamoka e re motho ya e bonaxo pele ó tla rua kudu selemó seo. Ó tlo bolaya mabélê a mantši, ya ba motho wa mahlatsi le mašoto xo iša bofelong bya bopheló bya xaxwe.

It is the belief of all the men that the person that is the first to see the star will be very prosperous during that year. He will have a rich harvest of kaffir corn, and will enjoy good luck and good fortune till the end of his life.

Ka letšatši le le hlahlámang leo Naka e dutšexo ka lóna, banna ba dihlako, dingaka, ba tsoxêla dinokeng xo hlatswa dihlako tša bóna. Ba lókêla dihlako meetseng a tho-tšexo, ao mebala ya tšóna e bonalaxo xabotse xo wóna. Ka tsebó ya mebala yeo ba kwišiša xore selemó seo e tla ba se se byang, sa khora xoba sa tlala, sa madimabe.

On the day following upon the rising of the star (*Naka*), the men of the divining bones, the doctors, go to the rivers early in the morning to wash their "bones." They put their "bones" into water that is perfectly still, in which the colour of the bones will show up clearly. By understanding the colour of the bones, they can foretell what kind of year is to be expected, a year of plenty or of famine or of misfortunes.

Xe mebala ya dihloko e ba laeditše xore selemó seo se tla ba le madimabe a dintwa, makwetši xoba mahu ka mehuta ya wóna, dingaka di fa kxóši sehlaré sa xo thibéla dikotsi tšeo. Sehlaré sé se bitšwa Sethokxoló.

Ka taéló ya dingaka, kxóši ya sethšaba e be e bitša maso-xanyana a sesó a ithšilafatša ka bohlóla, mme a newe dithokxoló, a kitime le melwane ya naxa ya xabo óna, a bea dithokxoló ka xo e dikanetša.

Kamoraxo xa kxwedi tše tharo xoba tše mme, ka kwedi ya xo nthša matšema, kxóši e bitša dingaka kamoka xo laola. Di laola letšema lé xo hlahloba xe ekaba selemó e tla ba sa mabélé a mantši. Xe dihloko di re pula e ka se bé xóna, kxóši e fiwa dithokxoló xapé, tše dingwe a di apare molaleng xore kotsi e se tlé xo yéna, le xore pulu e né xabotse.

Xapé kxóši e fa bakxomane le matona a metse sehlaré se ba rexo ke Pheko, xore ba se fê batho bu bóna se hlanan-thšiwé le mabélé. Thšémó e ngwé le e ngwé e dikološwa ka sóna sehlaré sé. Xo thongwa ka thšémó ya mošaté e ba e bitšaxo Letsweta.

Pele xa ditaola kxóši e ne e laéla banenyana ba xo se ithšilafatše ka bohlóla xore ba yo

If the colour of the "bones" has shown that the year will be one of misfortunes of war, or of diseases or of epidemics of different kinds, the doctors give the chief a medicine to prevent these calamities. This medicine is called *Sethokxoló*.

On the advice of the doctors the chief of the tribe calls those boys who have not yet lost any semen, and to these are handed *dithokxoló* (the medicines) so that they might run along the borders of the tribal domain and deposit the medicine all round the territory.

After three or four months, during the month when the seed is distributed, the chief calls together all the doctors to throw the "bones." They are throwing the "bones" with an eye to this "*letšema*," and investigating whether the season is going to produce much kaffir corn. If the "bones" say that there will be no rain, the chief again receives *dithokxoló*, some of which he wears round his neck so that no harm may befall him and so that the rain might fall in plenty.

Again, the chief gives to the chiefs and elders of medicine which is called *Pheko*, so that these might give it to their people to mix with the *mabélé* (seed). Every garden is surrounded with this medicine. The beginning is made with the chief's field which is called *Letsweta*.

Before the throwing of the bones the chief has been instructing the little girls that have not yet had any menstruation

kxa meetse a noka e kxolo a tlé a thšélwé ka dipitšeng tša mefokó ya mošaté. Xe xo fetile matšatši a mararo, xo tla masoxanyana a xo hlwéka, a tloputya dithupa tše ditelele ka dipitšeng, mme a kitima ka lebeló le lexolo a tšama a itiya melomo ya dintlo tša naxa kamoka. Ke xore ba tiya mphokó. Ntlong efe le efe e ba béthaxo, xe ba humana bupi xoba pitša e apeila dijó, di bitšwa tše di šilafetšexo. Masoxanyana ao ke óna a naxo le thswanéló ya xo ja dijó tšeo xe ba boya mphokeng. Ka tšatši leo le melló e tingwa kamoka seleteng. Molló o mofsa o thsékxwa ke óna masoxana ao mathapama.

Kamoraxo xa tšeo tšohle letšema le tšwile, batho ba thóma xo lema ka mabyalwa, ba bina dikóša tša matšema.

Xe pula e ka lesa xo na kóméléló ya ba xóna, banna ba naxa kamoka ba nthša diphologo le dinku tše dithso xo yo loba ka tšóna, le xo rapéla pula mošaté. Kxoši e araba ka xo re : " Ke tla le yéla xo bo-Lebepé ! "

Ka baka la phexéléló ya batho, kxoši e roma xapé banyanyana ba xo hlóka dithšila nokeng xo kxa meetse ka di-

to draw water from a big river so that it might be poured into the sacred pots of the chief's kraal. After three days the pure little boys come along, they plunge long pliant sticks into the pots and then run as fast as they can, striking the doorways of the houses throughout the tribal domain. If at any house which they strike, they find meal, or a pot in which food is being cooked, these things are declared unclean. Only these boys are entitled to eat such food when they come back from their errand. (This ceremony is called striking the dew.) On that day all the fires are extinguished throughout the tribe. A new fire is kindled (with the fire stick) by these boys in the evening.

After all these things the seed is given out (the ploughing and sowing season is declared open), and people begin to till the ground with beer (i.e. the owner of the garden invites people to his field and provides them with beer and meat), and they sing the songs of the ploughman (ploughing).

If the rain ceases to fall, and drought sets in, all the men of the tribe select black oxen and sheep of intercession, and beg for rain at the chief's kraal. The chief replies as follows : " I shall intercede for you with the *Lebepé* (departed spirits).

At the request (for intercession) of the people, the chief sends the pure little girls again to the river to draw water from the river with little cala-

*kxapana. Xe ba boya bu
ôpêla kôšana yé :*

“ *E-e-moxôxa, xôxa o tlé
nayô!*

“ *E-e-moxôxa, xôxa o tlé
nayô!*

*Meetse ao a thšêlwa ka di-
pitšeng tša mošatê, ka sephi-
ring, mo xo bexo pitša e tee
fêla. Ka fao pula e kxolo e
a na*

*Mo kxwedding ya Phato, xe
seboko se ja mabêlê, xo ba le
ngaka ya sôna ya xo se upa.
Ka taêlô ya kxoši, ngaka 'e
bitša masoxanyana, ya ba nea
sehlare, sa xo upa, byale a
kitima a xotša mello maše-
mong kamoka. Xa xo motho
ya yaxo mašemong matšatši a
mabedi ao.*

*Kxwedi ya Lexobyê ke nakô
e kxolo ya ngwaxa. Xo “ lo-
ngwa ngwaxa o mofsa,” ya
ba monyanya o moxolo wa xo
swana le wa Matswalô a
Morêna. Xo jewa merôxô e
mefsa, marôtšê, dinyôba le
tše dingwe. Xa xo motho e a
swanetšexo xo loma ngwaxa
pele xa kxoši e sešo ya dira
thswanêlô ya yôna.*

*Byaloka xa xo laolwa le-
tšema le molomô wa ngwaxa,
kxoši e bitša pitšô mme di-
ngaka di laole, di nthše sehla-
re sa xo loma ngwaxa, se
newe matona kamoka xo fa
batho ka malapa a bôna xore
ba se hlatleyê xotee le marôtšê
xoba mafela.*

bashes. On their return they sing this song :

“ *E-e-drawer, draw and bring it
with you* ”

“ *E-e-drawer, draw and bring it
with you* ”

This water is poured into the pots of the chief, secretly, in a place where there is only one pot. So, much rain falls.

During the month of *Phato* (c. Dec.) when the worm is eating the corn, there is a special doctor who deals with it (*xo upa*). At the request of the chief, the doctor calls the little boys and gives the “*upa*” medicine. They now run along and light fires in all the fields. No man may go into the fields during those two days.

The month of *Lexobyê* (c. January) is the great season of the year. “The new year is being bitten,” and there is a great feast akin to Xmas. Men eat fresh vegetables, pumpkins (marrows), sugar cane and other things. No man may “bite the year” before the chief has done his duty in this respect.

As in the case of the “seed” so in the case of the “biting,” the chief calls a tribal meeting and the doctors provide a medicine for “biting the year.” This is given to all the chieftains so that they may give it to each household to be mixed with marrow or green mealies.

Tšatši la xo latêla masoxana a tšwa le dikxomo e sa le xosasa xo iša lerôtsê badimong. Dithšabeng tšohle bana ba kxoši le banna ba mošatê ba fihla ba nee Badimo phaphi ya lerôtsê, ba xomele xae xe ba file Badimo dijô tša bôna. Byale dikxomo di kitimêla sethokweng ka lebelô, ye e di tloêlaxo e rêtwa ka dirêtô tše dibotse, e a binêlwa, e thabelwe ke sethšaba kamoka.

Xe ba boile badimong ba hlaba dikxomo, diphókô, dithselau le mabyalwa a hlotliwa. Mafsi a dikxomo a xamêlwa kxorong, mme xwa jewa, xwa niwa, xwa binwa, batho ba thaba. Kxoši e be e dula xare xa bôna, e retwa ka dirêtô tše boxale.

Ka kxwedi ya Semphêke-khothše xo be xo upiwa dinônyana ka banenyana ba swêrexo sehlare sa xo upa, mme ba upa matšatši a mabedi, batho ba sa ye mašêmong. Banenyana bao ba be ba rôbala šokeng, xe xo esa ba tsoxele xo hlapa nokeng, kamoraxo ba ye xae. Bakeng seo batho ba laêlwa xore motho a se ke a ja sejô thšêmong, eupya a êmê ka dinaô, kaxore a ka upulla, dinonyana tša tla tša ja mabêlê.

Hlakola-dihlare ke kxwedi yeo basadi ba hlôtlaxo mabyalwa a diteboxo a ba rexo ke masôhlô. Mabyalwa ao

On the following day the young men take out all the cattle very early in the morning and take the pumpkin to the gods. In all the tribes it is the sons of the chief and the men of the royal house that come to the gods, and give them the slice of pumpkin and then return home after they have given the gods their (the god's) food. Now the cattle run to the forest at a great pace, the one that wins the race is praised with songs of praise and sung to, by the whole tribe.

After the return from the gods, cattle, he-goats and hammels are killed and the beer is strained. The milk is brought to the communal hearth, there is eating and drinking and song, and everybody is happy. The chief sits amongst his people and is praised with songs of praise that speak of valorous deeds.

During the month of "Don't-give me - any - more - I - have - had - enough" (March) the birds are scared, and use is made of girls who have the bird-scaring medicime. The scaring takes two days. These girls sleep in the veld, and at dawn they bathe in the river. After this they return home. For this reason all the people are warned not to eat any food in their fields, and that they must eat standing, otherwise they will "unscare," and the birds will eat their corn.

"Undressing-the-trees" (April) is the month in which the women strain the thanksgiving beer, which is called *masôhlô*. This beer is taken to the

*a išwa xo kxoši xo mo leboxa
ka mo a sepdīšitšexo ngwaxa
xobotse ka xóna. Ba re ke
mabyalwa a masóhló.*

chief to thank him for the good way in which he has led (his tribe) through the year. The beer is called *masóhló*.

*Ke tšóna ditaba tša batho
baxešo tša xo phela xa bóna,
le tša borapedi bya tšóna.*

That is the manner in which our people live and these are their religious ceremonies.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

- (i) *Naka* : This star has been generally fixed as Canopus. It rises sometimes at the end of May or the beginning of June.
- (ii) *The Months*. It is very difficult to find the exact parallel for the months in English because as the names denote the terminology is based on the activities of the people during that period or on natural phenomena. The Sotho month would therefore vary according to the rainfall because all the activities of these people in the fields depend upon the rain.
- (iii) *Letšema* : This word denotes the time of the tilling of the fields and of sowing, because these actions take place almost simultaneously. It is also used as the name for the first Spring month.
- (iv) *Xo lema ka mabyalwa*. Literarily this means to till the fields with beer. The following is the procedure : The chief or even a private person can get his field tilled very quickly by brewing quantities of beer and inviting people to his garden. When the *letšema* is declared everybody brings his pick. The people work in row backwards and forwards and whenever they come back along their rows they have a draught of beer each to refresh themselves. At midday a goat is killed, the picks being used for this purpose, and the meat is cooked and eaten in the afternoon. At the *letšema* called by the chief for the tribal field (*Letsweta*) an ox is killed.
- (v) *Molomó* : " Biting the pumpkin " or " bringing the pumpkin to the gods " is the feast of the first fruits. The race of the cattle causes great fun and mirth. The women usually train the cattle for this race by giving the one they have selected a good feed of bran every evening. The cow or heifer comes to know her mistress's voice and at her call comes to her at a gallop. On the day of the race the women stand at the winning post and each calls the name of her favourite. The animals respond very readily and the winner has a good time.

NATIVE TUNES HEARD AND COLLECTED IN BASUTOLAND

By NORA SCULLY

Of the seventeen tunes included in this collection, fifteen were taken down by me in Basutoland; two were communicated by a friend who heard them in Zululand. The greater number of the Basuto tunes were overheard from labourers in stores, gardens, stables, etc. A few were taken down from singers kindly sent in to Maseru by the Resident Commissioner at my request.

It would, of course, be interesting if one could give the origin of each individual song,—but to anyone acquainted with the history of the Basuto Tribe—Nation—call it what you will,—this will be an evident impossibility. For one thing, the Basuto are probably the most suspicious people on earth. They live in deadly fear of their land being taken away on some pretext or another, and any question relating to tribal matters, no matter how trivial, will, as a rule, be met by impenetrable silence. In the rare instances in which an answer is given, such will invariably be misleading.

Again, the Basuto of today are largely descended from a mixture of waifs and strays from the many tribes which were broken up in the troublous times of approximately a century ago, and who took refuge under the strong shield of Moshesh. It is likely that in the majority of instances the people themselves have no idea as to how the songs originated. The writer knows of one song which is current among all the Native tribes between the Tshangana country and the Great Fish River.

As regards the words, the same might be said. Several songs have more than one set of words. Occasionally such words sound like mere gibberish, having no present meaning. Possibly they belong to some older (and lost) tongue. What, for instance, can one make of “Eye Ya How” and “Houti Mae”?

The songs as a rule express one single, simple thought. They are sometimes sung; sometimes played on rude Native instruments.

In the following transcriptions, the mark + shows that the note over which it is placed is very slightly sharpened; while the mark — shows that it is flattened. The mark < indicates that the note is suddenly opened out into a huge blast of sound.

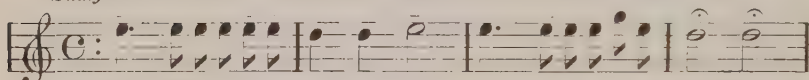
1. MARCHING SONG.

With spirit.

2. SONG WHILE WORKING.



3. A SONG OF OLDEN DAYS.

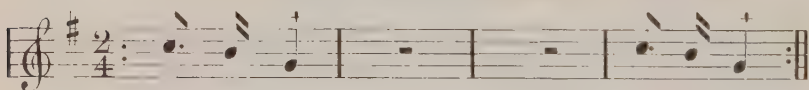
Sadly.

(1st Voice).

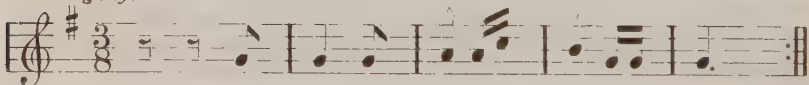


(2nd Voice).

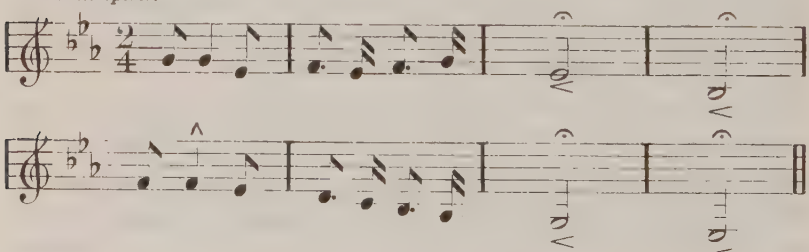
4. A CALL WHILE WORKING.



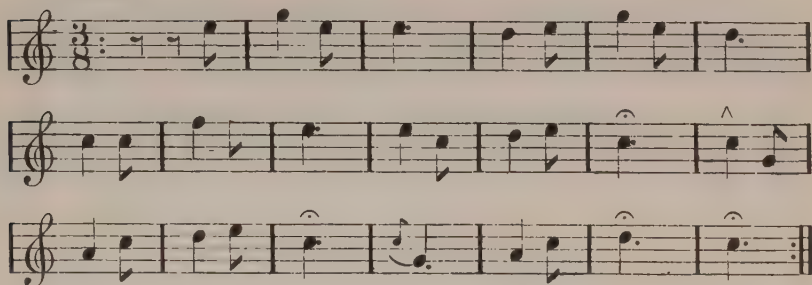
5. A DANCE TUNE.

Brightly.

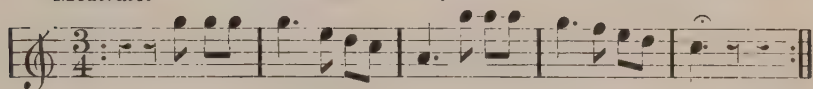
6. A MARCHING SONG.

With spirit.

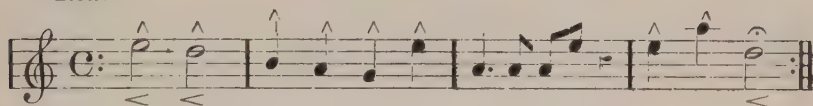
7. A SONG OF RETURN TO HOME.

Joyfully.

8. A SONG IN HONOUR OF CHIEF MA-MA.

Moderato.

9. VERY OLD CALL.

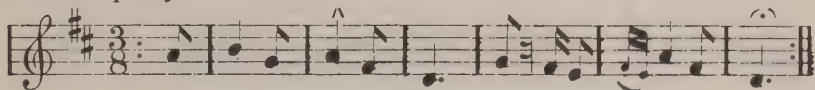
Slow.

10. A ZULU DANCE.

Lively.

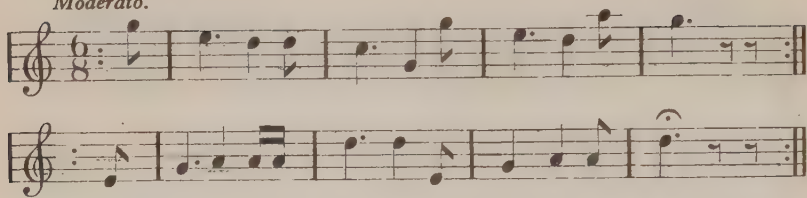
11.

SUNG BY BOYS IN WINTER WHEN HUNTING FOR MICE.

Not too quickly.

12.

A SONG OF MARRIAGE.

Moderato.

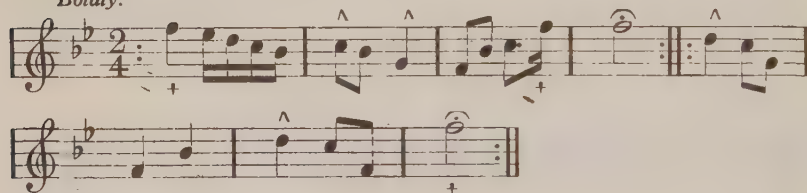
13.

SUNG WHILE WORKING.



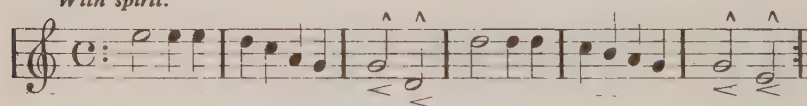
14.

A SONG OF PROWESS.

Boldly.

15.

A SONG OF THE GLORIOUS PAST.

With spirit.

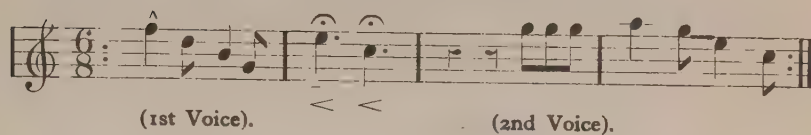
16.

A SONG OF OLDEN DAYS.

Sadly.

17.

SUNG WHILE WORKING.



A NOTE ON BORED STONES AMONG THE BANTU

By A. W. HOERNLÉ

In the *South African Journal of Science*, 1927, Mr. C. van Riet Lowe published a valuable study of the various types of bored stone found in South Africa, while in his study of the *Stone Age Cultures of South Africa*, in collaboration with Mr. Goodwin, in the *Annals of the South African Museum*, 1929, he showed that they range in size from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and in weight from 18 pounds to just over an ounce. Further, he was able to show that in South Africa a great many of these bored stones are associated, indisputably, with the Smithfield Cultures of the Free State and the Eastern Province and with the Wilton Culture of the Cape. Both these types of cultures seem to have been practised exclusively by the Bushmen in South Africa, and it has been a problem puzzling to students to account for the presence of these neolithic implements in a predominantly epipalaeolithic culture, and also to discover to what use the very large sizes could have been put by a people so slight in physique as the Bushmen.

So far as the cultural connections of the bored stones are concerned, we are still as much in the dark as ever. Together with them there occur in South Africa other neolithic, if not proto-dynastic (more specifically Egyptian), artefacts, such as polished stone bracelets, slate palettes, and even a few, very few, polished axe heads. How they sickered down into South Africa is as yet unknown, for but few of them are so far recorded from Southern Rhodesia, even in the assemblages of implements which otherwise are definitely of the same types as the Cape Wilton, while in Northern Rhodesia Professor Dart last year found them in the Mumbwa cave in the Ila country with a culture of Wilton type.

If little light can as yet be thrown on the culture contacts and culture migrations which brought the bored stone to South Africa, something definite can be said of the uses of the larger types of stone which have puzzled students in the past. That the Bantu have used these large bored stones until comparatively recently, can be clearly proved. There can be but little doubt that the Bantu took over these stones for their own use from the Bushmen, just as the white man to-day takes them for his purposes. But the Bantu definitely made these bored stones them-

selves, while to-day the white man simply picks up those that have been abandoned, and uses them to keep his doors from banging, or to halter his horse and prevent it from wandering !

It is to Mr. W. G. Barnard that we owe the following information concerning the use of these large stones by the Bantu.

During the course of his inspection tours through Sekukuniland, Mr. Barnard has repeatedly picked up these bored stones which are turned up in numbers from the ploughed fields of Sekukuniland and other areas. It is usually in arable lands that they are found and, as a rule, unassociated with other stone implements. In size they are much larger than those found with Smithfield and Wilton assemblages of stone implements.

The dominant tribe in Sekukuniland to-day is the Bapedi, a branch of the Bakhatla section of the Bakuena peoples of the Transvaal and Bechuanaland Protectorate, but subordinate to them is a number of tribes who were in the country long prior to the arrival of the Bapedi. These are the Matlala, the Batau, the Bakoni, and the Baroko. The Baroko claim to be the original Bantu inhabitants of the whole area round the Lulu mountains and were for some time paramount even over the Bapedi. To them are attributed all the old cultural relics of the country, though to-day they have been appropriated by the Bapedi chiefs. In the past they were great iron workers, and when they were conquered by the Bapedi became their smiths.

These Baroko, and also the Bakoni, tell us that in the past iron was very expensive, so that only the dominant Bapedi and the wealthy of other tribes could afford large iron implements, such as the hoe. As a result, the ordinary tribespeople used very largely wooden hoes weighted with bored stones which were fixed on to the haft. Both Bakoni and Baroko men, well over seventy years of age, have stated that they saw these hoes in use up to sixty years ago. It was only after the opening of the diamond mines, when European hoes were brought back from Kimberley by the men labouring there, that iron hoes became universally used throughout Sekukuniland. Undoubtedly, here we have the secret of the large numbers of large bored stones dug up in the ploughed fields throughout the Eastern Transvaal.

The stones were also put to other uses by these Bantu people. The Baroko used the bored stone as a bowl for their dagga pipe, instead of the neat burnt clay bowl which is normally used by Bantu tribes.

The old Bakoni smiths used this bored stone instead of a clay tuyere with their bellows. The horn nozzle of the skin bellows was inserted into the hole of the stone, and this placed in the small fire of the working smith.

The Balemba or Malepa, the bangle and bead makers of the Northern Transvaal, used a small disc-shaped stone, with a small hole in it, for burnishing the copper and other wires which they intended to use for bangles. The roughly stretched wire was tautly strung between two trees or poles, with the bored stone strung upon it after the hole in it had been greased with fat, and the wire was then polished by working the stone vigorously up and down the wire. Further, this wire was then flattened on one side for bangle making, or on both sides for bead making, by being pulled backwards and forwards through a bored stone firmly fixed to a pole or a tree.

For all these purposes, stones were specially made and prepared, so that we can trace the use of these artefacts, originally prepared by neolithic people for mace heads, right down to sixty or seventy years ago and can see how a useful implement will be taken over from one people by another throughout the length and breadth of a continent.

PLATE I



PLATE II



PLATE III



CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, Bantu Studies.

In connection with Professor Kirby's article on the *Gora* (*Bantu Studies* for June, 1931), it may be of interest to note that the Cambridge Ethnological Museum possesses what appears to be a very much simplified (or very elementary ?) form of the same instrument, obtained by me at Ntumbi, Nyasaland, in 1894. It is a reed (ornamented with an incised pattern) with a string fixed at one end and left free at the other, but wound round the stick so that it can be tightened at pleasure. The girl from whom I obtained it played it by holding the upper end (the one where the string is fixed) in her mouth and vibrating the stretched string with her finger, producing the sound familiar (I fancy) to most of us in childhood from a bit of elastic held in the teeth. She called it *mtangala* which recalls *umqangala*—especially if, as is possible, I misheard this for *mkangala*. (The genuine Ngoni have kept some, at least, of the Zulu clicks, but this girl was the daughter of a Nyanja father and a Yao mother). There is no quill or peg. I see that Prof. Kirby calls the *umqangala* the "simple musical bow," but the explanations of this word given in the dictionaries are as follows: Colenso: "Stringed musical instrument."

Bryant: "Single-string fiddle made of a reed and worked by the fingers and mouth."

Samuelson: "A native musical instrument worked by fingers and mouth; it is made of a string drawn tightly across a dry, slightly bent reed: at one end a piece of quill pared and trimmed thin is fixed, and this quill is placed in the mouth, and breath is drawn back and forward so as to cause the quill to sound."

It will be noticed that in the note quoted by Prof. Kirby (*B. S.* p. 97) from p. 645 of Samuelson's Dictionary, the *ulugwala* is said to be *more* curved than the *umqangala*, which neither of the three authorities cited describes as a bow. This name seems better applied to the *inkohlisa* or *ulugubu* or the *imvingo* also called *ulugwabe* (id. ib.)—one of which is probably that described by Bishop Colenso, on his first visit to Natal, in 1854 (see *Ten Weeks in Natal*, p. 256): "The Zulus have a Native musical instrument, a sort of bow with a gourd attached to the string, which latter, being struck by a little stick or plectrum, produces (no sound, but) a vibration only, which gratifies the performer,

as he stalks about the street playing it, and annoys nobody else." This agrees rather with the instrument I brought from Nyasaland than with the *gora* or *ulugwala*, especially as nothing is said about a quill and the sound is produced by striking the string, and not with the breath.

A. WERNER.

BOOK REVIEWS

Dolosgooiery in Suid Afrika, deur P. J. Coertze. Annale von die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, Volume 9, section B, Af. 2 (April, 1931).

In this essay on the divinatory bones of the Natives of South Africa, Mr. Coertze has given us a very careful comparative study of the types of article used in divination and the types of ornamentation found on the bone, ivory, and wooden sets used ; and he has also attempted to unravel something of the culture history of these systems of divination.

Mr. Coertze shows clearly that these systems of divination are thought to convey messages or orders from some higher being, and he suggests by a very interesting analysis of certain patterns used on the wooden, ivory and bone sets that these patterns are connected with the lizard who in many of the myths of the Natives, both in South Africa and in West Africa, acted as the messenger of God sent to tell men that they should live, die, and live again. It should be pointed out, however, that the Bavenda sets and those of some of the tribes of the Northern Transvaal, illustrated by Mr. Coertze, show no trace whatever of any lizard pattern, though those of the Mashona most definitely do. Among the Mashona tribes, four wooden dice are used, each with its name, two male, two female ; and each die has a pattern on one side while the other is bare. When these dice are thrown, sixteen possible combinations of the dice are possible, each combination having its own name, and its own signification.

Among the Zulus and the Bathonga, there are no such dice at all, but an elaborate collection of astragalus bones of different animals, shells, stones, bits of tortoise shell, hard fruits, pips, etc. Among the Bathonga, the astragalus bones taken from domesticated animals, male and female, young and old, represent each type of person in the village, old man, young man, married man, youth, tiny child, etc. The wild animal bones represent special people and definite concepts, so that the whole life of the people can be represented by the divinatory sets.

Among the Central Tribes of the Union, both these types of divinatory sets are used, the set of four dice, of bone, horn or ivory (but not of wood), and also the set of astragalus bones, tortoise shell, sea shells, and

sometimes, viz. among the Amandebele of Rhodesia and the Makaranga, hard fruits, and stones. Among the Transvaal Basuto, the four dice represent old and young man, old and young woman, while the astragalus bones represent the different totem animals of the different clans. It has usually been thought that the two systems of divination, the astragalus system and the dice system, were two different things which among the central tribes have been intermingled, but Mr. Coertze attempts to show that there is but one original system, viz., the dice system, while the other is an evolution from it.

Among the Bavenda, in addition to the four dice there is a system of divination by means of a wooden bowl. This bowl has carved round its rim symbols of different clans of the Bavenda. According to Mr. Coertze, there are twelve of these carved on the bowls, but Mr. Stayt (see his Appendix on the Bavenda in Miss Caton Thompson's *Zimbabwe Culture*, and his recently published book on *The Bavenda*) has shown that the number of clans varies, and also the clans represented themselves vary according to the locality in which the bowl is used. Often, too, representations of combinations of the dice have been carved on the rims of the bowls. These bowls are used to detect wizards by floating fruit kernels on water poured into them and noticing at which pattern the kernels touch the rims. This pattern indicates one of the clans concerned in the deed and, by repetitions of the floatings and an elaborate system of indications, the culprit is ultimately detected. Bartels states that the dice are used afterwards to test the findings of the bowls.

Now, the Yoruba of West Africa have an Ifa bowl which at once invites comparison with the bowl of the Venda, and Mr. Coertze has made a most interesting attempt to show that the two systems of bowl divination are connected, and that we have here a clue to the culture contact of the Natives of South Africa with those of West Africa. One cannot help admiring the skillful way in which Mr. Coertze has used all the clues that he has been able to get from the very inadequate material at his disposal, but suggestive and stimulating as his article is, one cannot help feeling that the clues used are very slender and inadequate. He tries to identify the Venda clan symbols on the rims of the Venda bowls with the gods and clans of the Yoruba. The Yoruba have sixteen gods and sixteen clans descended from them. On the Venda bowl described by Mr. Coertze which he takes as typical of them all, twelve clan symbols are carved. What has become of the other four? Why, they are represented by the four dice: twelve carved clan symbols plus four dice symbols equals sixteen. Now (1) there is no evidence that the Bavenda have just

sixteen clans, and neither more nor less ; (2) the number of clan symbols carved on the Venda bowls is, as already mentioned, not necessarily twelve ; and (3) Raluvimba, definitely one of the Venda gods, is not, so far as I know, represented on the bowl at all.

Thus the South African information does not justify us in identifying the clan totems with the " gods " in the Yoruba sense. There is, at present, no evidence that the Malaboch gods mentioned by Mr. Coertze are those of the Venda clans. Ralabepa (Malaboch) Ralawimba (Bavenda) up to the present is the only one common to both, and among the Bavenda he is not a clan god, so far as our information goes.

Mr. Coertze's attempt to prove that the Bathonga got their system of divination from the Bavenda is astonishing. The Bavenda have ivory dice, the Bathonga have none. The Bathonga have astragalus bones as the most important part of their divination set, the Bavenda have none. Yet Mr. Coertze thinks that the Bavenda are responsible for the Bathonga system of divination and for their "*wereldbeeld*." I cannot find his argument convincing as at present stated.

Nevertheless, Mr. Coertze's paper is one of the most stimulating I have read for a long time, and it reveals to us the shockingly inadequate information we have on a cultural possession that plays a very great part in the everyday life of the Native people around us. It is a shame that Mr. Coertze has to complain that there is practically nothing he can find about the systems of divination among the Bechuana and the Xosa : "*ons vind nerens 'n plek waar die dolosse van die Xosa's beskrywe is nie*" (there is no place in which the dice of the Xosas are described) ! All he has had to go on is a plate reproduced by Ratzel showing some of the Xosa dice.

Since reading Mr. Coertze's article, I have made enquiries through Miss Hunter, of Cambridge, who is working among the Pondos, and she tells me that the Pondos state most definitely that they have no system of divination by means of bones, except such as is brought back from the Johannesburg mines, and Mr. A. H. Goodwin tells me the same is true of the Xosa.

Let us hope that in time better material will become available so that the cultural connections of these system of divination will become clearer than they can possibly be made to-day.

A. W. HOERNLÉ

Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana, by P. A. W. Cook, M.A., B.Ed., Cape Town. (Published by Juta and Co., Cape Town, 1931.)

In the past, the tribes of the Transkei have all been lumped together by people writing of their customs, and we have generally been told that the "Kaffirs" do so and so. There is not in existence a book of reference to which one can turn telling one clearly and plainly the customs and traditions of one particular people in this area, and yet we know that, though basically there is a great identity of culture among all the South-Eastern Bantu, yet the tribes belong to different streams of migration, and a more intimate study not only of the similarities but also of the differences may reveal facts significant for the whole culture history of this part of Africa. In any case, it is only by studying the culture of a people as a whole that one begins to see the function of each aspect of that culture, and is enabled to judge how vital each is for maintaining the integrity of the spiritual outlook of the people as a whole.

In this little book dealing with the Bomvana, who live between the Bashee and the Umtata rivers, a straightforward account of the main institutional and ceremonial aspects of the culture has been given, while the material culture, which in the past was practically the only thing that attracted attention, has been referred to only in connection with the institutions in which it plays a part.

We get an outline of the social organisation, the main phases in the life of an individual man or woman, and an account of the ritual and beliefs connected with religion and magic. It is perhaps in his account of the clan system, the territorial organisation, and the ritual connected with cattle, that Mr. Cook has given us most new information, and indeed has made clear, for the first time, the working of the clan organisation in the Transkei in modern times.

The clan, or *isiduko*, among the Bomvana is a patrilineal kinship organisation to which all belong who trace their descent in the male line to one common ancestor. The names of the *isiduko* are taken from these ancestors. Fourteen different *isiduko* are mentioned as existing among the Bomvana, but there are additional ones with but few representatives in this tribe. People belonging to these different *isiduko* are not confined to the Bomvana tribe, but may be found among two or more other tribes of the Transkei or even elsewhere. Some of the *isiduko* trace their origin to Natal, many to Pondoland, some even to Basutoland. Now, the interesting fact is brought out that the exogamous character of the clan organisation is maintained even across tribal boundaries. Where-

ever people of the same *isiduko* may come from, they are prohibited from marrying : loyalty to different political heads does not break down the feeling of close kinship.

Another interesting fact in this connection is that one clan, viz., the Tshezi clan, provides the large majority of the sub-chiefs of the tribe, as well as the paramount chief of the whole tribe.

The sub-chiefs control the districts, or *imihlaba*, into which the tribal territory is divided. Where a sub-chief is not of the royal *isiduko*, the *isiduko* name of the first chief in the area is given to the district. Since, however, the majority of chiefs belong to one *isiduko*, the Tshezi, a different system has been introduced in connection with which we see a most interesting development seemingly welding together people of different kinship affiliations into political loyalty to one head. This subordination of the clan ties to political and territorial ties is a significant factor in the organisation of our Southern Bantu people. The system is as follows : The great chiefs of the Bomvana often had three or four kraals, each of which had its own name. These names were the *inkabi* of the chief and named as it were the different houses. Tshezi, for example, Mr. Cook tells us, had four kraals each with its own *inkabi* name which is inherited in each case by the eldest son, while the other sons can take *inkabi* of their own, if they so wish. Now the *inkabi* of a chief gives the name to the area over which he rules, and his followers living there are known by it quite apart from the fact that they belong to many different *isiduko*. Thus, chief Moni had two kraals a fair distance away from one another. His great kraal was Ngcweleshe, his right hand kraal Mbombo. When Moni died, his great son, Langa, succeeded to the *inkabi* Ngcweleshe and all his followers were known as AmaNgcweleshe. The right hand son became chief of the Ama Mbombo in the same way.

Nowadays, almost any headman may have an *inkabi* among the Bomvana, but Mr. Cook brings good evidence to show that originally the custom applied only to the royal *isiduko*. This is the case most definitely among the Xosa tribes, the Gcaleka and the Ngqika. It would seem, then, that we have here a development by means of which a real political unity was achieved among a people drawn from many different migration streams, a unity which definitely subordinated the kinship organisation, so characteristic of Africa, to a territorial and political one.

In dealing with the ritual, Mr. Cook has given us an interesting study of the sacrifice of beasts among the Bomvana, and has illustrated the ritual with some photographs which form a valuable record and are

really worthy of better reproduction. His information reveals a very clear distinction between the ritual killing of a beast and a true sacrifice in which the ancestors are invoked. Some day, a most fascinating study will be made by someone on the functional correlation of these two types of ceremony among pastoral peoples. Meanwhile, one is very thankful for the straightforward recording of the concrete data necessary for a study of the whole spiritual outlook of our South African Bantu.

When one is so glad of the information collected, it is a pity to have to complain of the get-up of the book. But it really does seem time that publishers in this country should produce for 10s. 6d. a more presentable-looking book than this one on the Bomvana. The binding is cheap, the paper poor, and the illustrations too small. Our publishers should be able to do better.

A.W.H.

The Use of Oxen as Pack and Riding Animals in Africa. By K. G. Lindblom. Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning, Smärre Meddelanden No. 10, Stockholm, 1931.

All students welcome the appearance of a new number of Professor Lindblom's Studies of the distribution of elements of material culture in Africa, and also the distribution of various types of custom in this continent. We have had from him a study of the use and distribution of stilts in Africa, of fighting bracelets, of string figures, and also of the hammock.

In this present number the use of oxen as riding and pack animals is reviewed from the literature.

In North Africa, oxen were used at a very early date in Barbary and the northern Sahara for riding, and there is a good deal of evidence that a brisk trade was even done between the Sudan and Northern Africa by means of pack oxen. Indeed, until quite recently, the Tuareg of Air have carried on an active trade in cattle through the desert.

Right through the Sudan, from Senegal to Abyssinia, pack oxen are employed, but always, it would appear, among people with Hamitic blood in their veins. The pure Sudanic and Nilotic Negro do not use oxen for these purposes at all.

In Eastern Africa, the Galla and Somali occasionally ride oxen and the Masai occasionally use oxen as pack animals.

There is, then, a big gap in which oxen are not used for these purposes at all, in which indeed it would almost be considered as sacrilege to make them work in this way. But right in the South, again among pure pastoral people, the Hottentots and Herero, the oxen are used both for riding and as pack animals.

Professor Lindblom has included in his study the use made by Europeans of oxen as pack animals. If, at some future time, he should publish a map of distribution, it is to be hoped that he will differentiate in some way between this late use by Europeans of oxen for riding and carrying and the use made of them by the indigenous peoples of Africa. With this discrimination, a distribution map would be a valuable addition to this monograph, which in any case reveals very significant differences in the treatment of cattle by different peoples in Africa.

A. W. H.

Chaka, an Historical Romance, by T. Mofolo, translated from Sesuto by F. H. Dutton. (Oxford University Press, published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures), 7s 6d. net, 1931.

The International Institute has done a great service in publishing Mofolo's classical work in this English translation. The book that has charmed for so many years the readers of Sotho (Sesuto) may now have its appeal to a much wider reading public. *Chaka* is a masterpiece of dramatic literature, and when it is realised that Thomas Mofolo is a humble Mosotho of very moderate education wonder at his achievement is increased tenfold. In most dramatic fashion Mofolo traces the life of the great Zulu tyrant Chaka from the time when he was an outcast and a wanderer to the time when Isanusi, the "doctor," gained his influence over him, persuaded him to part with every tender feeling and human attachment, and rewarded him with the "kingdom" for which he had yearned. But the price Chaka paid was too great, he became a beast craving for blood, sacrificed his beloved Noliwe and his mother Nandi who had suffered so much for him, and his own death at the hands of his brothers was the only end possible to such a monster.

We cannot help feeling that it is a pity that this subject was not treated by a Zulu writer. No Zulu writer has yet risen, however, to such high literary position as has Mofolo. The English translation has been well carried out by Mr. Dutton, and he is to be congratulated upon a most successful piece of work. It is not easy to translate from a Bantu language into English and retain just balance of the idioms of both. Mr.

Dutton, I think, has been most successful in this. It is a pity, however, that he did not have his translations of the Zulu "*izibongo*" checked by a specialist in Zulu; for instance he translates "*uteku lwabafazi*" as "sea of the women" instead of "sport of the women," evidently confusing the first word with "*iteku*," "a bay." There are other such errors in the translation from the Zulu.

C. M. DOKE.

A Grammar of Central Karanga, the language of Old Monomotapa, as at present spoken in Central Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia. By Rev. Francisque Marconnès, S.J., with a foreword by C. M. Doke, M.A., D.Litt. xv+270 pp. Witwatersrand University Press. (Special Number of "*Bantu Studies*," Supplement No. 5, March 1931).

The literature dealing with the Shona language-group, though greater in amount and better in calibre than that upon many other Bantu tongues, is yet too little in quantity and too heterogeneous in quality to be fully worthy of the singularly interesting and highly important group of languages with which it deals, so that there is ample room for more detailed as well as for more extensive work either upon the group as a whole or upon any one or more of its many dialects. This room is more especially great in the fields of lexicography and grammar. In his *Unification of the Shona Dialects*, published, like the work under review, during the current year, Professor Doke has given us, *inter alia*, a quite comprehensive and highly accurate description of the sounds occurring in the Shona group as a whole, and in the Zezuru sub-group in particular, and has promised us an even fuller and more refinedly accurate treatise upon the phonetics of Shona, which will, we assume, contain also a study of the tonetics of these languages; so that, with the pure phonetics already fairly well covered in Professor Doke's studies, together with what we already had on this aspect of the subject in the works of other writers, and with the phonology at least partly analysed in Dr. v. Warmelo's *Gliederung der südafrikanischen Bantusprachen*, and with the tonetics still to come in Professor Doke's further work, this field will have been quite well attended to. It is otherwise in the case of lexicography and grammar. We have not as yet anything like a good dictionary of any Shona language, since what is given in this connection in such works as those of Mrs. Louw, Father Biehler, and that of the St. Augustine's Mission constitutes vocabularies, accurate and full enough, but yet only vocabularies. In the same way, what we have of Shona grammar consists, with one exception, of really little more than sketches prefaced to

vocabularies, and in the case of the one exception, that of Mrs. Louw's *Manual*, is arranged, excellent and trustworthy as it is, in the form of a student's handbook and not in that of a linguist's grammar. So that any more detailed and scientifically-arranged grammatical study of a Shona language is a very welcome event, and no review of the present work, more especially one in which serious criticism must be levelled against it, would be either fair or complete without paying tribute to the indefatigable energy of the author in undertaking the arduous labours of compiling such a book, and to the combined action of the government of Southern Rhodesia and the University of the Witwatersrand for making its publication possible.

The work is divided into three parts, viz., *Phonetics*, "*Etymology*" (surely this had better been entitled *Morphology* or even *Grammar*?), and *Syntax*. Besides thus dealing throughout with lexicology, the author specifically touches on the phonetic field as well as on the avowed grammatical field which the title of the book promises. Nor does the author confine himself to any one dialect or any one area, but ranges over a wide field covering Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika dialects, to adopt the more usual classification of the Shona tongues. *Prima facie* therefore the book offers much promise, and it is therefore all the more regrettable that on closer examination we are left with a sense of profound disappointment at the quality of its defects.

Professor Doke warns us in his foreward that "the author is not strong on the side of analytical and descriptive phonetics," and this is borne out on almost every page dealing with the sounds of the language. So, for instance, the author cites as examples of the "cardinal vowels" (he does not say whether he means the organic cardinal vowels of the system devised by Professor Daniel Jones, or the main vowels of Karanga) the vowels in the English phrase "*Josephina rules*"—a singularly unfortunate choice showing, in these days of phonetic accuracy and cheap and easily-available text-books on the subject, an almost inexcusable ignorance of vowel-qualities in general and of the English and Karanga vowels in particular; we are no more reassured by the statement that there are "in French, three different *e*'s, *ê*, *è* and *é*." Phonetically there are three different "*e*"-phonemes, viz., "open *e*," "closed *e*" and "neutral *e*," and orthographically there are four different "*e*"-symbols, viz., *ê*, *è*, *é*, and *e*; but anyone acquainted, as the author is, with French, knows that the incidence of the phonemes in speech and the incidence of the symbols in writing by no means coincide. We are consequently left in none too happy anticipation of the author's ability to recognise or describe the vowels of Karanga, even where we can manage to make out,

on pp. 2 and 3, what refers specifically to that language and what is merely general phonetics confusedly and confusingly dished up. What we do get in the way of description is extremely tenuous, and entirely misses all finer shades ; while such statements as the instruction (p. 2, *Note*) beginning " By keeping the *tongue* (and teeth) in the position of *i* " and the definition of the semi-vowels (p. 3) as the opposite of diphthongs, must add to the gaiety, if not to the edification, of linguists in general and phoneticians in particular. In his treatment of the consonants the author is no better. Here we get the same lack of accuracy, the same tenuousness of description of the Karanga sounds inextricably mixed up with rather inferior disquisitions on general phonetics, the same hopeless confusion as to fact and arrangement of fact. So for instance the table on p. 4, apparently purporting to contain symbols for Karanga sounds only, contains, in the space for the voiceless laryngeal fricative, the symbol *h*, though later the author several times emphatically informs us that there is no sound of this nature in Karanga. The same table also contains I.P.A. symbols for sounds which the author represents subsequently by symbols of his own, and again in other places contains only the author's own symbols. In dealing with implosive *b* and *d* we are told by the author that "*b* and *d* when *not* immediately preceded by a *nasal* or followed by a fricative. . . . have quite a peculiar stop of their own," and are thus left to infer that the occurrence of these sounds is limited in the way indicated, when as a matter of fact that is not the case at all. Then we are told that " it is not yet clear whether this peculiarity (i.e. implosive quality of *b* and *d*) is significant or not " and a little later are given two quite good examples of that very significance ; not, however, without having been previously introduced to a startlingly original view of the difference between explosive and implosive *b* and *d* respectively : " the difference here," we are told, " is more one of intonation, the one syllable possessing a *level tone* and the other a *high-falling* tone with a lengthening of the vowel." Similar, though not quite so startling, is the confusion in the treatment of the semi-vowels, voiced *h*, and the problem of velarisation (pp. 10-12).

Intonation, that most significant feature of many Southern Bantu languages, which also plays quite a considerable part in Karanga, is dismissed in a paragraph which shows that, though the author is aware of the theoretical difference between intonation and stress (which latter he calls *accentuation* or *accent*), he is in practice at a loss to distinguish between the two. That he is not too sure even of the theory is shown by such a statement as that " monosyllables, when standing alone, have no accent, but only intonation." Here, though length has been pre-

viously mentioned, we are not told that monosyllables have length. The author has not realised that there is such a thing as absolute stress and absolute pitch, as well, of course, as absolute length. Again, the author seems to be aware of the difference between etymological stress and rhythmical stress, and quotes Meinhof on Venda in this connection. When it comes, however, to giving examples of these two types of stress, and more particularly of semantically-differentiating stress, we find that most of the examples given are examples of semantically-differentiating *tone*, which, in practice, the author has hopelessly confused with stress. Again, the author's performance in the field of stress and tone do not leave us in happy anticipation of his probable treatment of the question of emphasis, and when he tries to show, in §27, that stress is employed to show emphasis in Karanga, we are not convinced. The rest of the section on stress and intonation need hardly occupy us longer here, being vitiated at the outset by the author's continued confusion of stress and tone.

In the sections of the work devoted to grammar, the author shows himself to somewhat better advantage than in his phonetical part. Even here we are met by many of the chief defects of the earlier portion—notably the lack of orientation. The author appears to be acquainted with the grand lines of the work recently done upon Bantu grammar, and in particular cites Meinhof, who in his *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen* has laid down the main lines upon which Bantu grammarians must build, and Doke, whose *Text-book of Zulu Grammar* is one of the latest and perhaps most remarkable contributions to the further study of Bantu grammar. But the author has either not grasped the argument of Meinhof's and Doke's work, or has seen fit to disregard it—with no very fortunate results for the clarity, the force or the acceptableness of his categories. So, for instance, instead of following Meinhof in the classification and order of the noun-prefixes—which our author, having adjured us to leave our European grammars behind us in tackling Bantu grammar, must needs dub "Articles"—a classification and order which have obtained the all but universal commendation and following of Bantuists, he prefers to adopt an analysis and classification of his own: as to the order, that may be a matter of personal predilection, though it is hard to see why an order that has obtained such great following should be varied for no reason given; as to the analysis, we get such things as the lumping together of the *mu-va* and *mu-mi* classes into one, *mu*, pl. *va* (the author does not distinguish between bilabial and labio-dental *v*), also *mi* and *ma* (*sic*), the running-together of the *ri-ma* and *yi-ma* classes, and other solecisms.

In the treatment of the other parts of speech we have many similar unfortunate examples where the author, for some reason best known to himself, has departed from all the standards towards which Bantu grammarians are being led : it is for the impartial reader to judge whether the result is edifying.

In spite of all these defects, the work has one sterling quality which amply justifies its production : that quality is the very full thesaurus of phrases which it contains, and which, when analysed, will form a rich store of material for future Karanga grammarians and lexicologists. We cannot admit that Father Marconnès has arranged the facts, or that he has explained them, with any degree of real satisfactoriness. But also we cannot but be grateful to him for having collected them in such great profusion.

G. P. LESTRADE.

Der Suedafrikanische Eingeborene als Industriearbeiter und als Stadtbewohner, mit einem einleitenden Ueberblick ueber die afrikanische Eingeborenenfrage im allgemeinen. Von Dr. Charlotte Leubuscher, Professor der Staatswissenschaften an der Universitaet Berlin. Jena : Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1931. Pp. x + 222. Mit drei Tafeln.

This is an exceedingly interesting and important book. True, it offers no new facts. All the information contained in it is familiar to students of the subject, and could be dug, by anyone who cared to take the trouble, out of available books, articles, Government publications, etc., as listed in the author's own bibliography. None the less, the book is important and, at the present juncture when Native policy is in the melting-pot, immensely useful for two reasons. First, because the author has brought together the facts from sources widely scattered and sometimes difficult of access, and presented them in manageable compass. In this respect, the experience of reading her book may be compared to getting an aeroplane-view of a country which, so far, one has known only by travelling over it afoot. And, secondly, she has made the facts illuminating and significant by arrangement and interpretation, using on occasion the "trained eye of the economist which can perceive connections which, for lack of statistics, cannot be fixed with precision" (p. 138).

The Introduction deals with the African Native problem in general. Here the author emphasises the progressive industrialisation of Africa, and analyses the Native problems arising from it, alike in their differences and their similarities in different parts of the Continent, as well as

the attitudes towards these problems of Missions, Governments, and the representatives of European economic enterprises. In an Epilogue, she returns to these wider vistas, pointing out that the issue which is beginning to define itself with increasing clearness is this: Is Africa to be treated as mainly a source of raw materials for European and American industry, and exploited by a small number of European managers and experts controlling a vast black proletariat of labourers who are cheap, because their standard of life is low and is kept low by artificial limitations and repressions; or are these black millions to be regarded as the chief wealth of Africa, as valuable human material to be civilised and developed so as to become, with a rising standard of productivity and of living, important consumers for the products of European and American industry? Aptly quoting from the report of the Hilton-Young Commission that the choice is between "treating the Native interests as ends in themselves or as mere accessories to immigrant communities," she notes how this formula echoes the very language of Kant's Categorical Imperative.

For Africa as a whole this is undoubtedly the general problem. But, the author is fully aware—it is the real subject of her book—that the solution of this problem in its special South African form is complicated by the permanent settlement of a European community which (a) does want cheap Native labour; (b) is barely beginning to be interested in the Native as a consumer, and then only as a consumer of the products of its own nascent and protection-fostered industries, rather than of the products of overseas industries; and (c) is terribly afraid, in the name of safeguarding white civilisation, of having to concede to the Native, as he develops in the scale of civilisation, social and political equality. Moreover, this situation, already sufficiently difficult to tax the highest statesmanship, is made even more difficult by the fact that, with a settled European community (as distinct from officials, missionaries, engineers, etc., working for their term of service and then retiring "home"), there comes into being, sooner or later, a bitter economic competition between the lower strata of white society and the upper strata of black society—a competition which unfailingly produces its crop of attendant evils, poor whites, colour-bars, Native unrest, etc.

In dealing with this specifically South African form of the general African problem, Dr. Leubuscher exhibits an objectivity of judgment, a thoroughness of substance and a clearness of presentation which are models of their kind. She begins with the structure of the South African Union and the population statistics within it, giving in the latter context full weight to South African criticisms of the fantasies of Mr. Cousins's

Introduction to the Census Report of 1921. She then passes on to a sketch of the tribal system and its disintegration. In Ch. 3, she comes to grips with her subject with an analysis of the causes of the movement of Natives to the towns and of their differentiation there in accordance with different occupations. There follow chapters on wages, on conditions of life (housing, rents, sanitation and medical services, recreations, family-budgets, etc.), and on conditions of work for mine-labourers, domestic servants, municipal employees, and workers in factories and shops. Next, these facts are reviewed in the light of the relevant legislation, social, economic, and financial. In these chapters, the author discusses how in detail the Natives generally, and the Native town-workers in particular, are affected by the policy of protection ; by taxation, direct and indirect ; and by the restricted expenditure of public funds for Native interests, especially education. She also deals with Acts like those for Apprenticeship, Industrial Conciliation, Wage Regulation, which, though mostly intended primarily and often exclusively for the benefit of white workers, have nonetheless, and often in unforeseen and unintended ways, affected the Natives for better or for worse. Thus, e.g., the fixing of a legal minimum wage for European workers has sometimes made their employment so expensive that they have been replaced by Natives, whilst the "civilised labour" policy has, conversely, often resulted in an uneconomic replacement of cheap Native labour by more expensive (and doubtfully more efficient) white labour, the cost being borne by the general body of tax-payers in which Natives are included.

Chapter 9 reviews the reactions of Native opinion to all these facts ; the symptoms of gathering Native unrest and discontent ; the sporadic outbreaks ; the various attempts at organisation ; the relations to white trade-unions and the policy of the latter towards Native organisations ; the influence of Communist and other agitators. The final chapter analyses the divergent ideals and traditions underlying the Native policies of the white population and their working-out in the four provinces. It concludes with a discussion of present-day tendencies and proposals, more especially of the opposing policies of segregation and co-operation, and the struggle over the retention of the Cape Native franchise or its replacement by some other scheme of representation for Natives. In this connection, the author makes the very important point that what really matters is not so much the details of a scheme as the spirit in which it is proposed by the Whites and accepted by the Natives, and then worked by both. In a psychological atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill, even far-reaching measures of segregation might be accepted by the Natives and their white friends, provided they are designed, not to

entrench European privileges by keeping the Natives down and blocking their avenues to advancement, but to minimise racial friction and maximise opportunity for Native development under favourable conditions.

Throughout her book, Dr. Leubuscher has plenty of opportunities for exposing the economic muddle-headedness of so much of South African public opinion, which tries both to eat its economic cake and to have it, e.g., which approves of heavy protection for industries on the plea that this creates openings for white apprentices, without realising that the same policy increases the cost of living for the consumer and thus intensifies the plight of both poor White and poor Native, exacerbating the competition between them for unskilled jobs.

There are a few small mistakes. Dr. Roberts is described on p. 35 as an "ex-Senator," whereas in a note on p. 135 he is correctly referred to as a Senator. Levy-Bruhl is spelt Bruehl in a note on p. 193; and there are a few other misprints or misspellings. The pages dealing with the I.C.U. and Mr. Ballinger have been overtaken by the march of events in the last two years, and would have to be re-written for a second edition or for an English translation.

In fact, this is a book which ought to be translated into English, not only for the benefit of English and American readers, but above all for the education of the South African public. Every South African citizen who desires to have an intelligent and informed opinion about the Native problem ought to be enabled to read it. Would it were possible to require members of the South African Parliament to pass an examination on it as proof of qualification to talk and vote on Native policy! Would that a South African had written this book the substance of which, after all, concerns us far more closely than the German public which, as the author observes, has, after the loss of the German colonies, no interest in Africa except that of an industrial nation requiring raw materials and new markets for its products. We South Africans are responsible, before the judgment of the civilised world, not for the maintenance of white civilisation against, or at the expense of, the Natives, but for their physical and mental welfare and development in their contact—so often dangerous and destructive for them—with our civilisation. If by preserving white civilisation we mean merely preserving the supremacy of the white skin, we shall end by betraying the spiritual values on which alone the superiority of our civilisation rests and by destroying ultimately that very supremacy which we sought to maintain. I repeat: this is a book to be translated—it may help to save us from ourselves.

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BAPEDI

By D. R. HUNT, Lately Native Commissioner, Sekukuniland

Chapter I

EARLY TRADITIONAL HISTORY

The Bapedi originated from a small Bakgatla clan living at Mapogole or Mahlakoaneng near the source of the Vaal River.

The earliest known headman of this group of Bakgatla families was one Tabane. Because the ground grew less fertile this little Bakgatla clan trekked away and resettled themselves at what is now known as Schilpadfontein in the Pretoria District.

It is not known how long they lived there but when one Motsha, son of Liale and grandson of Tabane, was headman and had grown old as such and had seen his people increase in number a quarrel arose among the Bakgatla women about one of old Motsha's favourite wives Ma-Thobe.¹

The women made mocking songs about Ma-Thobe and said her child cried while still in its mother's womb. The child was born and named Le Lella Teng² (you cry inside). Such an unusual event was naturally attributed to witchcraft and of course the Bakgatla wanted to kill the mother and the child, so Thobe the successor of Motsha, who was still alive though very old, together with Mathobe and the whole of his now numerous section broke away or were driven away from the main tribe and trekked to the East with all their flocks and herds.

They crossed the Olifants river below its junction with the Elands river and passed through the country which is now North-Middelburg, then³ occupied by some scattered Matlala, and also through what is now Geluks Location occupied at that time by the Batau.

On crossing the Lulu range at what is now known as the Maila Pass they happened to find a porcupine bristle on an anthep, some say on the top of the Lulu and some say on the site of the present platinum mine on

(¹) Accounts by Rahlolo and old Malikgopa of Seopela's.

(²) Afterwards renamed Moimane.

(³) ? 1650

Maandagshoek known as Soale Kop : from that time they discarded the old monkey or flame *kgabo* emblem of the Bakgatla and adopted that of the porcupine *noko* instead.

Some assert that they merely took the name Bapedi from the country⁴ which was then called Bopedi. Another story is that they assumed the name Bapedi from a Bavenda iron-making clan the Vhambedzi, the phonetic equivalent of Bapedi, whom they found in the country and drove away, retaining only their name in order to propitiate the ancient spirits of the land : supporting this theory a Bavenda clan in the Zoutpansberg, the Vhambedzi, has been noted⁵ which asserts that it came from the country where the Bapedi are to-day.

A variation⁶ of this story is that, after they had settled down on the right bank of the Steelpoort river in the neighbourhood where Burgersfort, Aapiesdoorndraai and Viljoenshoop are to-day, they encouraged some members of a Bavenda clan called Vhambedzi to come and live among them as blacksmiths in order to make themselves independent of other neighbours in the matter of iron-working : when these Vhambedzi had taught their art to the Bapedi the latter were able to say " We are now our own Vhambedzi," i.e. " We are now Bapedi."

All tradition points to the fact that when the Bapedi first came to Sekukuniland, as it is now called, they used to *lobola* with iron hoes as well as with or in preference to cattle.

Through their history up to the time of the Matebele invasion there was a small stad of workers in iron living under the close protection of the Bapedi Chiefs and no-one was allowed to interfere with them. This may perhaps account for the ancient furnaces found in 1876 by the Lydenburg Volunteer Corps when digging the foundations of their fort which they named Fort Burgers.⁷

The Bapedi found a section of the Baroka known as Mongatane under a chief Mashabele in possession of the country East of the Lulu and along the lower Steelpoort river, together with some small sections of the Bakoni tribe who were more numerous a little further to the South.

(⁴) Country was called Bopedi from Steelpoort to Groot Letaba and to Pietersburg. North of Groot Letaba the country was called Moatle. See Map I.

(⁵) Noted by Lestrade and Schwellnus.

(⁶) Kgobalale's version.

(⁷) *The Transvaal of To-day* by A. Aylward: Pages 64 and 65;

It will be seen that for many years the Ba-Mongatane were recognized by the Bapedi as their superiors, but eventually when the Bapedi had increased and the inevitable quarrels arose, the Bapedi who were better armed with Native-made iron battle-axes, assegais and rhinoceros-horn kerries, took the lead and subjugated the BaMongatane who were armed mainly with bows and arrows in the Baroka fashion.

The Bapedi occupation seems to have been peaceful, probably because the country was sparsely populated and there was plenty of room, with water and game enough for all.

We hear of no wars during Thobele's time. The Bapedi settled down quietly in their new homes, living happily and increasing. Though they had to pay tribute to the Mongatane chief it was only a matter of thatching grass and poles, thus it was never severe and gradually became nominal.

Tradition says that either before or soon after the Bapedi came to what is now known as Sekukuniland some people known as Mapalakata made raids into the country. They are said to have been armed with muskets and to have worn long white dresses, so they were probably Arabs raiding for slaves. The Baroka killed off one party of thirty Mapalakata on Pashaskraal (No. 126) and another party was wiped out by the Batau at Magashoa in Geluks Location. These Mapalakata and their fire-arms seem to have made a great impression on the minds of the Bapedi. It is curious that, even so late as the time of their greatest chief Thulare, Mapalakata are mentioned in the praise song of that chief which begins :—

“Thulare o itse: Thu! Lepalakata.”

The “*Thu*” referring to the noise of the gun of the Lepalakata.

Thobele was succeeded by Kabu who had two sons Thobele and Thobejane.

The first incident of note in the history of the tribe after its arrival in its new country was the driving out of Kabu's son and heir, Thobele, because while still an uncircumcised youngster he had intercourse with his father's wives. He took with him his immediate adherents and a number of young girls, together with many cattle, and fled to the north. What became of this section is uncertain. Some say that they became absorbed into the Baramapulana or Basuetla of the Zoutpansberg. They may have joined another section of Bakgatla-Bapedi who had broken away from the parent tribe and had gone to the Bavenda country in the

Zoutpansberg in the days of Tabane before the Bapedi came to Sekukuniland.

So Kabu was succeeded by his second son Thobejane who also had a peaceful reign. He ruled his people well and his name is still revered as one of the tribe's best chiefs. To this day a member of the chief's house will sometimes be addressed as "Thobejane" as a term of honour.

On Thobejane's death his son Moukangoe became chief. Moukangoe was also a popular and peaceful chief. During his time the tribe grew rich in cattle, not taken in war but peacefully bred in that splendid grazing country along the Steelpoort river, although there was plenty of big game and the tsetse fly was not unknown. The tribe was prosperous and Moukangoe made his people pay him as a right or tax the three right-side ribs nearest the shoulder of any ox killed, and also a small flat basket (*leselo*, not *seroto*) of kafir corn. They also used to bring him beer as a voluntary gift, not as a tax, and he in return used to acknowledge the gift by a present of meat. He reigned a very long time, and it is said that in his very old age the wrinkles on his forehead hung down over his eyes and had to be propped up by little pieces of stick and bandages to enable him to see.

He outlived his eldest son Lesailane who died without an heir, and eventually Mohube, his second son, became regent for his aged father.

It is during this regency that we hear of the first quarrel between the Bapedi and their neighbours. Mohube trespassed into the hunting grounds of the Bagakomane, a Bakoni clan, who killed him and some of his followers. The Bapedi promptly retaliated by killing some Bakoni.

On Mohube being killed Moukangoe's third son Mampuru took charge of the tribe as Mohube's son Moroamotshe was still a child and old Moukangoe was in his dotage.

Both the Bapedi and the Bagakomane referred their quarrel to the Mongatane chief Makgosi who lived under the eastern slope of the Lulu mountains at what is now known as Dsjate, a place to become famous later in Bapedi history.

This incident of the quarrelling parties referring to the Bamongatane shows clearly that up till then the Mongatane chief was still regarded as paramount.

The Bamongatane decided in favour of their older subjects the Bagakomane-Bakoni and backed their decision by sending a force across the Steelpoort river, near where Fort Burgers is to-day, to attack

the Bapedi who however were well prepared⁸ and not only repulsed the attack but pursued the defeated Bamongatane almost as far as their own home again.

Mampuru then attacked and scattered the Bagakomane taking their cattle and killing Komane their chief so that they had to sue for peace and send a girl as a peace-offering in order to be allowed to return and rebuild their stads. The Bamongatane also sued for peace by sending their chief's own son Magosi as a hostage. Mampuru gave this man his daughter Nthane as a wife and sent him back to his people, thus to some extent still acknowledging the priority of the Bamongatane but in this way ensuring that the future Mongatane chief should be a Mopedi by birth.

So we see that in the first brush the Bapedi were able to throw off, though still slightly acknowledging, the former supremacy of the Bamongatane, and to begin to assert that authority over their neighbours which exists up to this day throughout what is known as Sekukuniland.

For a time there was peace again and Mampuru, who was only acting chief and guardian of the real heir Moroamotshe, the son of Mohube, brought up this youngster together with his own son Nthobeng. These two young men became Mampuru's leaders in all his subsequent and numerous forays.

A chief Mamaile who had broken away from Mongatane authority and established his stronghold on a kopje (where Groothoek No. 171 is to-day) was attacked by Mampuru who failed at his first attempt to capture the stronghold, but lured Mamaile into an ambush at Maandagshoek and killed him, reducing his people to subjection.

Mampuru then crossed the Lulu mountains by the Maila Pass and defeated the Batau under Tseke at Mmopong, close to Manganeng, the present Batau headquarters in Geluks Location.

His next expedition was still further afield against the Bakoni stronghold known as Kutoane (and also known by some to-day as "Buller's anthep" near Badfontein, south of Lydenburg). This stronghold appeared to the Bapedi to have only one entrance which was successfully defended by the Bakoni. A Mokoni traitor who had married a Mopedi wife revealed another feasible entrance to Mampuru who ordered his own son Nthobeng to attempt it by night, but he was afraid. Moroamo-

(*) Moukangoe was inclined to give in to the Bamongatane and his old regiment, the Magaba, agreed with him, but Nopuru and his young Manala regiment were for fighting the Bamongatane.

tshe however agreed to go with his own *koma* circumcision school regiment, the Makoa, and, with the help of the traitor guide, climbed into the heart of the stronghold, so that when Mampuru attacked again at dawn the stronghold and its chief Ntsuanyane were soon captured.

On arriving home Mampuru wanted to give his own son Nthobeng the credit for the victory and a larger share of reward than Moroamotshe's, with a view of preferring in the eyes of the tribe his own son's eventual succession to the chieftainship.

Old Moukangoe was still alive and heard of this and would have none of it. He ordered all the cattle of the tribe to be collected and made each owner bring a young ox and a heifer, and then gave them all to Moroamotshe but none to Nthobeng. Thus the whole tribe was made formally to recognise Moroamotshe as the future chief when he should become old enough to take over.

Moukangoe now died and was buried by Mampuru who remained regent.

It is a custom amongst the Bapedi that the succeeding chief claims the right to bury the late chief. This point crops up several times in Bapedi history and must be kept in mind by any student of their tribal life or history. The burying of Moukangoe by Mampuru was a sign that he claimed the chieftainship and so there was no alternative left for Moroamotshe, the rightful heir, but to fight for it.

In the desultory fighting that followed Mampuru was eventually defeated, wounded and captured. Some demanded that he should be killed but he was still regarded with great respect as the man who first made the tribe great in war. Moroamotshe therefore allowed him to go free and live first at Suale (Maandagshoek) and later at Malokelo (Putney).

At this time the tribal headquarters were moved higher up the Steelpoort river to where the farm Goudmyn and Steelpoort Station now are. It was here that Moroamotshe died and was buried.

With his death ends what may be called the earlier traditional history of the Bapedi. From now onwards we gradually approach dates and facts which are certain and sure, where their history begins to touch the recorded history of South Africa.

Looking back and allowing for the peaceful times of the earlier chiefs Thobele, Kabu, Thobejane and Moukangoe prior to the more stormy days of Mampuru and Moroamotshe, it may have been about

1650⁹ that the Bapedi broke off from the Bakgatla and settled in what is now Sekukuniland, making their original headquarters on the Steelpoort river. In these early years the Bapedi succeeded in asserting their superiority over their immediate neighbours.

The Baroka living in Sekukuniland are looked upon by other tribes as being of inferior breed. Their habits, their use of the bow and arrow, the things they will eat, such as tortoises, worms and all kind of offal, are more akin to the primitive Bushmen, who once inhabited their neighbourhood and left rock pictures, than to the more particular Bantu Natives of higher standard. They are probably a degenerate offshoot of the Baronga from further to the north-east.¹⁰ The Bapedi soon placed them in subjection.

The local Bakoni were the next to fall and become incorporated into the Bapedi system, though like all South African tribes in similar case, whether conquered or amalgamated, they continued to retain their clan name and identity. This scattered tribe seems to be distributed from Central Africa where they were known as Angoni, down to Basutoland and Zululand (Bangoni).

The Batau, a hardier and fiercer lot, are said to have come in from the direction of Swaziland and settled in the country to the west of the Lulu range many generations before the Bapedi arrived. They were only gradually subjected and have several times tried to reassert themselves. Some of their customs,¹¹ more especially in regard to their circumcision rites, still differ slightly from those of the Bapedi.

The Matlala sections who came within the Bapedi scope were merely offshoots of the well-known tribe of this name in the Pietersburg area.

The Bamohlala were a small tribe who originally came from Lekuduma further north and settled in the Pilgrims Rest area below the berg, till they were defeated and their chief¹² killed by the Mapulana when the remnant fled for protection to the Bapedi.

The Mapulana of Pilgrims Rest, in turn, though they fell under the Bapedi long ago, have gradually separated again and only slightly acknowledge the Bapedi who still claim them as subjects.

(⁹) Schwellnus thinks 1680.

(¹⁰) Lestrade.

(¹¹) Barnard.

(¹²) Hendrik, headman of Garatouw.

Some Baphuthi came in from the south, probably about the time when the Batlokoa hordes of Mantatisi were devastating South Africa.

A Batlokoa section joined, from the Zoutpansberg, in 1885 after having been broken up by the Government.

Some Amandebele refugees from Mapogo also settled north of Geluks Location.

It will be shown later how some Swazies also came to be incorporated.

True Bapedi are really comparatively few in number and form little more than the ruling caste. Their system has always been to marry one of their daughters to the local chief of a neighbouring or defeated tribe and the issue of this marriage, namely the succeeding chief of the tribe in question, is looked up to as a Mopedi by birth. The tribe or section thus falls automatically under the thumb of the Maruteng, the royal house of the Bapedi, though the actual word refers to the local headquarters of the paramount chief.

Later it will be seen how by conquest and by marriage the Bamaruteng extended the Bapedi rule throughout the present Lydenburg, Pilgrims Rest, Middelburg and South Pietersburg Districts of the Transvaal.

Chapter II

THULARE AND THE MATEBELE DEBACLE

Moroamotshe's sons were Dikotope, Thulare and Motodi. Dikotope succeeded but Mampuru instigated Thulare to fight his elder brother for the chieftainship.

Dikotope moved his headquarters back to near the old tribal centre lower down the Steelpoort.¹³ This appears to have been an unpopular move and Thulare remained with a considerable following at the stad (on Goudmyn) that his father had built. Thulare soon found himself strong enough to attack Dikotope, who fled to Maepa (Ohrigstad) where in turn he raised the Bakoni and induced the Bamongatane, who were sore at the loss of their ancient paramountcy, to join him against Thulare.

Thulare outgeneralled these allied tribes and defeated them in detail by marching in between them as they were on their way to join forces. He first surprised the Bamongatane while they were smoking

(¹³) Rahlolo and Malikgopa.

dagga in the early morning and, after pursuing them and capturing their cattle, returned victorious to the Steelpoort river and fought and beat the Bakoni, killing both Dikotope and the Bakoni chief.

Thulare then returned home¹⁴ the undisputed paramount chief of the country and became the greatest and most renowned chief of the Bapedi.

Mampuru tendered his allegiance by asking Thulare to come and visit him and by formally placing him on his own throne—a throne made of buffalo horns with koodoo horns for the back. He also asked Thulare to bury him alongside Moroamotshe when he died. This request caused a serious division in the tribe because, when a few days later Mampuru died and his son Molamoso buried him, Thulare with a numerous force went and exhumed the body and reburied it at the old head kraal of the tribe on the lower Steelpoort.

Mampuru's son Molamoso and his followers were so enraged that they attacked Thulare but were well beaten, Thulare adopting his usual tactics of a surprise attack from behind.

Thulare took all their cattle but purposely did not follow them closely and out of respect for his old friendship with Mampuru allowed them to escape across the Olifants river where they settled on the Mohlapetsi river and lived there till 1900 when they, now known as the Ba-Magakala, returned to Sekukuniland and settled at Surbiton, a farm subsequently (in 1927) bought by the Baapedi tribe as a whole.

Throughout their subsequent history the Bapedi have always recognized these Ba-Magakala people as part of the tribe and in some cases of dispute have deferred to the Magakala chief as the descendant of Mampuru whom the Bapedi revere as the first of their chiefs who was a warrior and made them a fighting tribe.

Thulare next heard that the Amandebele tribe living at Moletlane (now Zebediela's Location) under Sekobe, as well as Mphahlele and Molamoso were intriguing against him so he raided and defeated the Amandebele at Moletlane. As was his custom he did not entirely destroy them but took most of their cattle, leaving their stad unburnt and also leaving the cattle of the chief's house.

It was shortly after this that Thulare made his greatest expedition, passing Mapoch's and Maleewskop he went far into the Waterberg and

(14) ? about 1780 or 1790.

Zoutpansberg Districts and then back over the Drakensberg reducing the whole country to his rule.

Then for a long time there was peace. His cattle are said to have covered the country from the Lulu mountains to the Komati river.

He sent his favourite son Makgeru secretly to get in touch with White people at Delagoa Bay. Makgeru brought back two Whites to visit Thulare. They were kept hidden during the day of their arrival so that the tribe should not see them, as the chief must always be informed of all happenings before the general public. After dark they were brought to Thulare who received them well and eventually sent them back towards the East loaded with presents.

Thulare himself is said to have been very light in colour, his wives were innumerable, he was generous, never cruel and never went to extremes. He had his own special workers in iron and his own bead-makers living in a stad on the Steelpoort under his protection. He is said to have carried an iron walking-stick, which may have been a Mapalakata gun barrel or ramrod, or indeed a gun itself. His judgments were impartial and are quoted as precedents to this day. He ruled for a long time but as he grew older he used to send his sons to attend to any troubles among his more distant subjects. Latterly it pained him to see the jealousy that existed between his chief sons Malekutu, Matsebe, Phethedi, Mothodi, Sekwati, Makopole, Makgeru and Sibasa.

He died in 1824 on the day of a solar eclipse, the first definite date we are able to record with certainty in the history of the Bapedi.

The next chief was Malekutu, the rightful successor of Thulare. He had always been an active fighting leader of Thulare's, and on succeeding to the chieftainship made a great expedition to the south-west. He defeated the Mapoch tribes and penetrated, looting cattle, as far as Rustenburg and even to the Vaal river, but was afraid to cross as he heard that further on there were fierce fighters riding horses and armed with muskets, probably the Korana Hottentots, so he turned back and returned to his home on the Steelpoort with enormous herds of cattle. By this time he had been chief for two years.

The tribal wife whom he should by custom have married, and who should have become the mother of the next succeeding chief, was to have been his cousin named Kgomo-Makatane living at Magakala's. It was claimed in a subsequent dispute, which many years later brought disaster

on the tribe, that he never sent the original customary bull,¹⁵ apart from the dowry, to clinch his engagement to this woman. Quite possibly he did not, as he was only chief two years and most of that time away.

During his long absence on his raiding expedition his brother Matsebe had been trying to make himself popular with the tribe with a view to seizing the chieftainship, and it was not long after Malekutu's return that Matsebe poisoned him.

Matsebe however did not gain his object as he was at once driven out by Mothodi and Phethedi and fled to the Ba-Magakala across the Olifants river. Phethedi followed him up and after some fighting Matsebe was killed.

Phethedi then attacked the Bakoni under Makopole near Lydenburg but failed to take their stronghold. This Makopole had been exiled by his father Thulare and had made himself chief of the Bakoni.

Now¹⁶ we hear for the first time of the appearance of the dreaded Matebele. News came through to the Bapedi on the Steelpoort that Makopole and the Bakoni had been attacked by the Matebele, that Makopole had been killed and the Bakoni slaughtered except for scattered remnants.

The Matebele were moving northwards. Phethedi had a successful brush with a small advanced party of them whom he killed near Krugerspost.

But the main body of these fierce invaders was advancing towards the Bapedi headquarters through the country between the Dwarsrivier and Waterval valleys.

Phethedi heard that they were about to attack his head stad through the nek on Olifantspoortje so he sent a young regiment to hold the nek against them. The Matebele impis however came right over the hills from the south in full force. Phethedi went with the remainder of his regiments to repel them but was defeated and completely overwhelmed. Most of the Bapedi fighting men were slaughtered and the deep donga near the head kraal was filled with Bapedi corpses. Phethedi himself fell, full of wounds, fighting bravely. All the other sons of Thulare, except Sekwati, were killed in this fight.

(¹⁵) Kgobalale.

(¹⁶) About 1826.

The young regiment, not finding the enemy in Olifantspoortje nek, were returning home but on finding the Matebele already in possession of the head stad managed to make their escape into the Lulu mountains where many women and children had already taken refuge.

In the evening the Matebele burnt the empty head kraal.

The Batau and Matlala tribes to the west of the Lulu mountains rallied under Sekgatume of the Batau and, contrary to Sekwati's advice, attacked the Matebele by way of the Schoonoord—De Goede verwachting pathway over the Lulu. The attack failed and ended in the usual slaughter.

During this last fight Sekwati himself remained at Honoko cave on the top of the Lulu. Directly afterwards he fled with a considerable remnant of the Bapedi across the Olifants river.

The Matebele settled down on both sides of the Steelpoort, laying waste the whole country and living on the cattle and goats they captured. From time to time a few Bapedi were caught and incorporated by Moselekatse into the Matebele—mostly women and children, as men were killed—while a few scattered groups hiding in the Lulu or in the hills round Ohrigstad kept themselves alive by stealing back stray cattle from the Matebele.

Moselekatse remained for one year, by which time he had completely denuded the country of all stock and grain.

After he had passed on to the Western Transvaal came the awful time of the cannibals. Cannibalism first began among the starving remnants of the older tribes hiding in the Ohrigstad hills but soon spread to those in the Lulu as well. They trained dogs to hunt men. A corpulent Mongatane headman who was captured on Dsjate by cannibals is said to have been so fat that he would not cook well.

The forefathers of the present Headman Komane Mamathobe and his people living at Genakakop and Grootvygenboom on the top of the Lulu were all of them cannibals during that period.

Chapter III

SEKWATI AND THE VOORTREKKERS

Sekwati fled from the Matebele with a goodly portion of the tribe who had escaped the slaughtering assegais of Moselekatse's impis. He crossed the Olifants river at Mphahlela's, thence went onwards into the

Zoutpansberg where at first he allied himself to Kgoadi, chief of the Batlokoa. By making raids, killing out small kraals and capturing women and cattle he began to strengthen his people and restore their fighting morale. He was wise enough to avoid conflict with Matebele impis sent there annually by Moselekatse to collect tribute: when Matebele were about, Sekwati retreated into the Woodbush and only reappeared after they had gone.

Sekwati wandered as far as the Blaauwberg where he met Buys, called Kadishe by the Bapedi, who accompanied him on many of his raids. Once he raided across the Limpopo and took many cattle, but the Matebele captured these cattle from him on his way back and he fled avoiding a fight.

Eventually, after four years of this wandering life, Sekwati decided to return to Sekukuniland, where meanwhile a Mokoni leader, Marangrang, from further south had already come in and had begun to assert himself, though he was not a chief.

This Marangrang, who is still looked upon by the Bakoni as their great tribal hero, was tremendously strong and very tall. His story resembles that of Samson in the Bible. He raided his neighbours in the usual way and like Samson became the terror of the countryside. Some cannibals stole a few of his people so he went and fought them at Ohrigstad, and though he failed to exterminate them he considerably reduced their activities. When Sekwati returned the first thing he did was to send a royal bead and a woman to Marangrang. This woman was Marangrang's undoing, as she beguiled him into crossing the Olifants river where he fell into an ambush and was surrounded and slain by Mphahlela's people at Sekwati's instigation.

Sekwati was then able to defeat the Bakoni and a Bapedi section under Kabu who had returned with and supported Marangrang. This Kabu was the son of Makgeru who brought the first Whites to Thulare and had previously made a name for himself by fighting cannibals, some of whom agreed to stop eating men and became his allies. Sekwati defeated him at Pahla (now Mooifontein).

Next Sekwati reduced the power of the Ba-Magakala under Legadi-mane. He distributed captured cattle in order to stop cannibalism, and killed the two cannibal chiefs Marubanye and Makulele.

He thus re-established the old Bapedi ascendancy over Sekukuniland.

A rocky kopje, Phiring, in what is now Magalies Location in the northern end of the Middelburg District, was his stronghold.

According to the Bapedi account he easily beat off a Swazi raid under Somoduba Dhlamini. A few years later, namely on July 5th, 1846, on account of this raid the Swazies laid claim to the Bakoni country formerly ruled by the Bapedi which they sold to the Voortrekkers for 100 cattle. The boundaries of the country described as sold by Umswazi are :—" From Ohrigstad northwards to the Olifants river and down to the Delagoa (boundary) line, southwards to the Krokodile river, westwards to Elandspruit and up to the 26th degree eastward to where the Krokodile river runs into the Komati and to the (boundary) line of Delagoa Bay."

It may here be noted that it has sometimes quite incorrectly been assumed by historians that by this treaty the early Republicans acquired their right to "Sekukuniland," by purchase from the Swazies. This contention does not hold good under close examination, as the treaty boundary in the direction of Sekukuniland did not run further west than from the Olifants river north of Ohrigstad to the Elandspruit between Belfast and Machadodorp, thus it never included Sekukuniland at all. Sekwati always considered his country north-west of the Steelpoort independent of the Republic and his successor made the same claim.

A far more serious affair than this Swazi raid was an incursion by a big Zulu impi sent by Panda. They swept the country but after a big fight failed to capture Sekwati in his stronghold. After they left, Sekwati organized a big hunt and, in much the same manner as Moshesh of Basutoland on a similar occasion, sent the invader a present of ostrich feathers and skins of the *tshipa* (a ground squirrel) as a peace offering, asking him not to come again. Since then the Bapedi have occasionally sent presents to the Zulu chiefs and remained friends with them : even as late as 1906 there is no doubt that emissaries passed to and fro during the Bambata rebellion.

It was soon after this¹⁷ that Hendrik Potgieter and his Voortrekkers appeared in Sekukuniland from the Waterberg side. Sekwati with all his men went to meet him at Molahlegi's not far from Rooibokkop on the Olifants river, bringing elephants' tusks and some sheep and goats as presents. The meeting was friendly and the Voortrekker party passed over Magnet Heights to the west, eventually founding Ohrigstad in 1845.

(¹⁷) 1845.

Potgieter appears to have used Bapedi as auxiliaries in some of his expeditions and to hunt elephants and herd captured stock. Soon an incident occurred which ended for ever their mutual raiding. According to the Native version Buys alleged to Potgieter that the Bapedi had taken more than their share of the spoil in a previous expedition. Potgieter came¹⁸ with a commando of 150 burghers together with Buys and his tribe and some Barolong to attack the Bapedi. The result was that the tribe lost 8,000 cattle, 6,000 goats and also a large supply of calico that they had bought from the Portuguese.

From now onwards there was constant bickering with the new Republic at Ohrigstad which had been established in the country occupied by some Magakala, Bakoni and Mapulana sections. These people naturally looked to their paramount chief Sekwati for protection.

In 1852 Potgieter attempted to disarm the Bapedi with a commando of 320 burghers, mostly from the Zoutpansberg, and some Natives from western tribes. He attacked¹⁹ Sekwati who had assembled his fighting men at his Phiring stronghold. The commandos laagered on the Olifants close by and then assaulted the stronghold, nearly capturing it, but the Bapedi held on to the last enclosure and the assault failed. The burghers then surrounded the hill and cut off the water supply. The defenders sucked the liquid from the stomachs of cattle that died. Two of the chief's sons, young Sekukuni and Magulodi, asked his permission to try and break through the cordon and fetch water. Sekwati refused but young Sekukuni, a bold young warrior, privately organized a party of his Matuba regiment and together with some young girls carrying pots broke through to the river. They were fired on and returned the fire as some of them were armed with muskets that are said to have been brought up from Moshesh in Basutoland. The young girls drew water and the party succeeded in returning to the stronghold. The burghers then retired with 5,000 cattle and 6,000 sheep and goats, mostly belonging to the Matlala, which they had rounded up from the surrounding country. The attempt to disarm the Bapedi, which was the ostensible object of the expedition, failed.

After this Sekwati sent a peace-offering to Potgieter but found that the latter had just died—²⁰ all the women were wearing black.

Sekwati no longer felt that Phiring was secure as a stronghold, owing to the possibility of being cut off from water. He therefore

(¹⁸) Winter of 1846.

(¹⁹) August and September 1852.

(²⁰) 1853.

removed his headquarters to Mosego Kop under the eastern slope of the Lulu range (now the farm Hackney). By this time he had grown so fat that he had to be carried all the way in an ox-hide by relays of young men.

The Bapedi used to complain to their chief that hunting parties of Ohrigstad farmers used to steal small Native children and carry them off to be indentured as farm labourers²¹ and that when the parents went to look for them they were shot at by the farmers. On the other hand the farmers complained bitterly that Natives carrying arms were constantly stealing their stock. There were unending disputes, though Sekwati, who was growing old and was now partially paralysed in his feet, did his utmost to prevent a war between his people and the burghers.

The original Ohrigstad Republic was merged into that of the Transvaal but the Lydenburg Republic seceded from the Transvaal on March 11th, 1857, and did not rejoin till April 1860.

On November 17th, 1857, the following "Agreement" was made between Sekwati and the Volksraad of the new Lydenburg Republic:—

Agreement

Entered into by the Committee appointed by the Honourable "The Volksraad of the Lydenburg Republic," and the "Matlatee Kaffir Chief, Sekwatie."

On the 17th of November, 1857, the appointed Committee have agreed:—

"That peace between Sekwatie and the Lydenburg Republic shall be promoted as much as can be on both sides.

That the people of Sekwatie shall not be permitted to pass the Steelpoort River with guns and horses, unless by permission, or on being called by somebody, but that they are permitted to hunt 'free and unmolested,' on that side of the Steelpoort River, on the lands now occupied by Sekwatie.

That Sekwatie shall upon request and indication, at once deliver up the stolen cattle and punish the guilty party.

Likewise, that Sekwatie when anyone comes to him and asks for assistance shall then render assistance to such an one, to trace the cattle

(²¹) Cf. Agar-Hamilton's *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers* and local Natives.

stolen or bring back the absconded servants and he shall punish the guilty party.

Furthermore that all the people (Natives) who live beyond the Steelpoort River, on the side of Sekwatie, can be considered as his people, but all the people (Natives) on the other side do not belong to him and the White men can deal with them according to their pleasure.

Thus done in the town of Sekwatie on the 17th of November, 1857.

The Committee appointed by the Honourable Volksraad of the Lydenburg Republic :—

(Signed) X SEKWATIE.
 „ X MAETSIE.
 „ X MAMPURU.

We, the undersigned Commissioners, declare that the above marks of Sekwatie, Maetsie and Mampuru, were made in our presence by the said Matlatee Kaffir Chief and his Head-Captains on the day and date above-mentioned :—

(Signed) C. T. VAN NIEKERK, member of Volksraad.
 „ F. C. COMBRINK, Field-Cornet.
 „ O. T. VAN NIEKERK, Oson. Interpreter.
 „ J. MIDDEL, Json, Acting Secretary.

This document was approved of by the Lydenburg Executive Council on the 9th of December, 1857, and by the Lydenburg Volksraad on the 9th of April, 1857.

From the Bapedi view the main points of this “ Agreement ” were that the Steelpoort river was from henceforth to be looked upon as the boundary between them and the White people, and that they could no longer go armed across the Steelpoort.

It is worthy of note that, regardless of the many events that have happened since then, the majority of the Bapedi from that day to this have regarded the Steelpoort as their eastern tribal boundary.

After this treaty had been signed the tribe lived in peace for several years.

Sekwati died on September 20th 1861.

He will always be remembered by his people as the cleverest of their chiefs. He had re-united and re-established the greatness of the tribe. He never fought unless he was compelled to and in his latter years his

constant aim was to preserve peace, especially with the White people. He is buried on Mosego Kop and even now in times of misfortune or calamity, such as cattle disease or drought, the Bapedi bring offerings of meat and beer to his grave and ask help from his spirit. Moroa-Sekwati (Son of Sekwati) is an honoured and complimentary title among the tribe.

Chapter IV

SEKUKUNI I. PERIOD 1861 to 1877

To grasp the situation caused by Sekwati's death one must turn back to the days when Malekutu was poisoned and his brothers, with the exception of Sekwati, were killed by the Matebele.

Malekutu had never married a tribal wife with tribal cattle, though the woman who by custom should have been his tribal wife to produce the next heir was Kgomo-Makatane of the house of Magakala and a cousin of the Bapedi ruling house.

After the Matebele invasion when Sekwati fled to the north there was, at the time, no idea of his ever becoming a great chief.

Kgomo-Makatane had remained at Magakala and only came to Sekwati later in his life on his return to Phiring. One Kapjane of Pahla (Mooifontein) was privately allowed by Sekwati to have intercourse with Kgomo-Makatane as he himself was too old. This, though customary up to a certain point, should have been done by one of the chief's house and not Kapjane. The offspring resulting from this intercourse was named Mampuru, probably out of compliment to the Magakala house.

Mampuru's birth compares somewhat with that of the present Chief Sekukuni II though, in this latter case, the legitimacy of the parentage has always remained undisputed as his actual father was one of the chief's (Maruteng) house.

After the birth of her child Mampuru, Kgomo-Makatane returned to Magakala, but Sekwati sent after her and made her return him the child but allowed her to go. Mampuru was placed under the charge of Thorometjane Phala, Sekwati's favourite wife, whom he had married before he went on his early wanderings. This Thorometjane had a son of her own, Sekukuni, a fierce and active young warrior.

When old Sekwati was lying sick before his death Thorometjane was nursing him at Mosego. Sekukuni meanwhile was living at Madi-kane (Clapham), a few miles away, but was kept informed by Thoromet-

jane of the state of his father's health and eventually knew of his death before others of the tribe. Thus, the moment Sekwati died, Sekukuni, with the help of his circumcision regiment, the *Mabuta*, at once seized the head stad and challenged the right of anyone else to bury Sekwati: in other words he defied anyone else to claim the chieftainship.

Mampuru, the other claimant and whom most of the tribe had expected to succeed, was unprepared and could not protest.

Sekukuni buried²² Sekwati quietly.

His next immediate move was to have all Sekwati's old advisers who might have supported Mampuru assegaied and their bodies dragged to the front of their own household enclosures. Next day he gave permission for them to be buried.

Mampuru himself escaped to the Batau of Manganeng, where Sekukuni followed him up with the intention of killing him, but Lekgolane,²³ the Maruteng wife living among the Batau, pleaded for Mampuru, saying that he was not really a son of Sekwati's loins but that his true father was the small headman Kapjane. Sekukuni therefore contented himself with cutting off the string of royal beads from Mampuru's neck, as he would not allow Mampuru to handle the beads himself by taking them off.

Sekukuni passed on to Pahla and himself killed Kapjane with his battle-axe while his followers slaughtered as many of Kapjane's followers as they could find. He then returned home and the survivors of Kapjane's people sent him a young girl as a peace-offering.

Mampuru took refuge with the Swazies.

Moyalodi, another son of Sekwati, senior to Sekukuni, but a quarrelsome man who was not liked, fled to the Mapoch tribe.

This *coup d'état* of Sekukuni's caused the second of the three main divisions that have occurred in Bapedi tribal history, the first being the breaking off of the Magakala section of old Mampuru I in the pre-Thulare days already described.

Now the whole point of the subsequent division in the tribe hinged on this—Malekutu had not sent a bull as is customary to clinch the engagement of his cousin Kgomo-Makatane. Therefore the Sekukuni

(²²) 1861.

(²³) Sister of Chief Sekwati and married to Rampheloane, Chief of Batau.

party claimed that Sekwati, as chief, married Kgomo-Makatane as his own wife and not in order to raise seed for his elder brother Malekutu. They also claimed as further proof that she was not a tribal wife, that Sekwati paid dowry for her out of his own private cattle and not with cattle subscribed by the tribe, as would have been the case had she been intended to produce the future chief. The allegation that a commoner Kapjane, and not Sekwati or anyone of his house, was the actual father of Mampuru, Kgomo-Makatane's child, was another point made by the Sekukuni party.

The Mampuru section deny or disregard his Kapjane parentage and say that at any rate his mother was the person who by custom ought to have been the tribal wife and that, as she became the wife of Sekwati on behalf of the late Chief Malekutu and produced a son, that son Mampuru was the rightful heir as Sekwati was merely raising seed for his elder brother. They also point out that Thorometjane I, Sekukuni's mother, was not a tribal wife though she was Sekwati's favourite wife whom he had married before going on his wanderings. Moyalodi's mother, too, was senior to Thorometjane.

This dispute will always be the subject of endless argument among the Bapedi.

The fact is that the Matebele had upset the ordinary flow of events, and, though Kgomo-Makatane's marriage may not have been quite tribal according to formal details, it was generally expected for several years before Sekwati died that Mampuru would succeed to the chieftainship. Sekukuni, the older in years and more resolute of the two, struck in at the right moment and, clearing all opposition, established himself firmly.

In 1861 the Transvaal Republican Government had not as yet established its authority over the Natives of Sekukuniland who then, and for several years to come, had not been brought to consider themselves subject to White rule. Besides, when Sekwati died²⁴ the Republic was too busy with its own factional troubles to concern itself about who should be the rightful successor to the chieftainship of a tribe situated as the Bapedi were, though nowadays a paternal Government would see into it through its Native Affairs Department. Therefore the Government took no sides in the affair and tacitly recognized Sekukuni as the chief.

At first he lived on good terms with his White neighbours. The Steelpoort river was a clear boundary line on the Lydenburg side and

(*) 1861.

there was as yet no pressure from either party to the west or south-west of Sekukuniland.

He knew how to make himself popular with his people. He abolished some of their more savage customs and no longer allowed the killing of youths who broke certain rules in the circumcision schools.

Sekukuni however strongly objected to Christianity, which threatened to interfere with his customs and his power, so in 1864 he ordered away a missionary named Merensky of the Berlin Lutheran Mission who had been allowed by Sekwati to establish himself, first at Schoonoord and later at Maandagshoek, in Sekukuniland. Merensky himself wished to disobey the order and remain, but the Government did not want to run risks and told him to come away. He moved to the town of Nazareth (now Middelburg) and re-established his mission station near by at Botshabelo.

After Merensky had left, Sekukuni burnt the mission station at Maandagshoek.

Johannes Dinkoanyane, a half-brother of Sekukuni had become a Christian during the latter days of Sekwati. He received a hint, some say indirectly from Sekukuni himself, that his life was in danger, so he ran away to Botshabelo, which, in accordance with the meaning of its name, became the "refuge" for the small number of Bapedi converts. Mampuru visited Dinkoanyane there but they quarrelled because Dinkoanyane as a Christian threw away Mampuru's *dolosse* bones. This quarrel reached the ears of Sekukuni who, because of it, became more reconciled to Dinkoanyane, and this reconciliation had its after-effects when Dinkoanyane left Botshabelo²⁵ and returned nearer home to the Spekboom hills north of Lydenburg.

During the years that followed, Sekukuni was quietly collecting a considerable store of muskets and ammunition. According to Native report, a farmer named "Ou Nooi," "X," was the go-between and employed another farmer "Z," whose Native nickname was Makatane, to run the guns and powder in wagons from Delagoa Bay to Roodewalshoek in the Waterval valley, to which place Sekukuni used to send and receive them from "X."

At various times groups dispossessed by the Whites or refugees from other tribes came and joined the Bapedi. Both Sekwati and

(²⁵) Dinkoanyane left Botshabelo because he quarrelled with one Martinus Sebushane as to who should be headman of the Christians there. Sebushane had the larger following but Dinkoanyane was of Maruteng birth.

Sekukuni were careful to post such groups in outlying strong places between the Bapedi head stad and possible enemies. About 1874 Umsutu²⁶ the son of Somoduba Dhlamini of the ruling Swazi chief's house fled from Swaziland with a considerable following to Sekukuni, because Somoduba had been killed by Chief Umbandine. Sekukuni located Umsutu and his Swazies on the top of the Lulu range above Schoonoord.

A few months later another group of Swazies, smaller in number but more closely related to Umswazi and Umbandine, fled, under Mpehle,²⁷ to Sekukuni and were similarly placed on the top of the Lulu range.

The Swazi chief sent an impi to follow up²⁸ and recapture these fugitives.

This Swazi impi penetrated nearly as far as Mosego Kop but were there heavily defeated and driven back by the Bapedi²⁹ who were better armed with muskets. It is recorded³⁰ that the bones of these Swazi dead were still to be seen lying round Mosego in April 1878, three years later.

This success confirmed Sekukuni's feeling of security in his stronghold, backed by the Lulu in the Hackney-Dsjate valley, with the formidable hills of Mosego and Modimolle guarding its entrance and its small cave-riven mound-like hill on Dsjate as its citadel.

He considered Sekukuniland independent and foreign to the Republican Government and refused to allow miners from the Pilgrims Rest gold-fields to come and prospect on his side of the Steelpoort.

By this time Johannes Dinkoanyane had also established himself in a stronghold on the Spekboom hills north of Lydenburg where he had collected a small following and, in the midst of the farming community, assumed a very independent demeanour which Sekukuni himself by no means discouraged.³¹

Had Sekukuni confined his activities to his own side of the Steelpoort according to the 1857 Agreement he might possibly have delayed

(²⁶) Father of present Swazi Headman Umshobiane or "Shoppiane."

(²⁷) Father of present Headman Ngobe.

(²⁸) They were after Mpehle especially.

(²⁹) 1875.

(³⁰) *Transvaal of Today*, Aylward page 139.

(³¹) Sekukuni regarded Dinkoanyane as holding an out post between him and his enemies.

the impending clash, but when he backed Dinkoanyane³² by openly regarding him as his subject there was no longer hope of peace.

The growing feeling of mutual fear and hostility between the Burghers and the Bapedi culminated when, on March 7th 1876, Dinkoanyane insolently detained a wagon-load of wood³³ belonging to a farmer named Jankowitz. This, together with a false report which reached Pretoria that Nachtigal's German Mission had been burnt by Dinkoanyane, decided President Burgers to call up his commandos to deal with the whole Sekukuni menace.

The burghers with the aid of some Swazies captured Dinkoanyane's stronghold. According to an account of this affair by a Native³⁴ who took part in it on Dinkoanyane's side, it was Mampuru who brought the Swazies : the burghers opened fire³⁵ with a cannon on the church which formed a good central artillery mark : the Natives, a Christian lot mostly Bakoni, began firing on the burghers and did not notice the Swazies who crept up from another direction. The defenders think that even then they would have repelled the attack as they were shooting every Swazi who showed over the walls, but Johannes Dinkoanyane was himself shot dead by a Swazi at close quarters and when the chief was killed his followers gave in or ran away. The Swazies killed many women and children but young Micha³⁶, the son of Johannes Dinkoanyane, escaped as he was hidden in a cave a little distance away.

The Swazies lost heavily and some of Mampuru's personal followers were also found among the killed. After the fight the Swazies went home complaining that they had not been properly supported by the burghers.

The President wrote that he had captured the Gibraltar of the South.³⁷

By this time the burgher commandos had all arrived and the President advanced northwards and crossed the Steelpoort with the largest force the Republic had ever hitherto assembled : it consisted of 2,000

(³²) Dinkoanyane had recently visited Sekukuni.

(³³) Wagon load of wood was held up by Asaph Tau Mashala, one of Dinkoanyane's followers, as its owner's boys were cutting poles near Dinkoanyane's stad.

(³⁴) Account by Mashueu Mabele of Schlickmanskloof, a Mokoni who was "nurse" to Micha Dinkoanyane whom he sent to hide in the cave and who then took part in the fighting and claims to have shot a Swazi dead.

(³⁵) July 5th, 1876.

(³⁶) Micha Dinkoanyane, the present headman of Boomplaats.

(³⁷) Theal.

burghers with a few Krupp guns and 400 or 500 wagons.³⁸ From the Steelpoort the advance continued on a broad front with little or no opposition till they arrived within reach of Mosego. The big attack was made on August 1st, 1876³⁹ and, though the burghers succeeded in burning part of the head-stad, the attack was not pressed as it should have been, and it failed to dislodge Sekukuni. The fact of the matter being that the burghers' hearts were not in it, as they distrusted both the military and religious capacity of President Burgers. They retreated pell-mell and did not stop till they had recrossed the Steelpoort and then dispersed to their homes.

To meet this situation it was decided to hold the line of the Steelpoort against Sekukuni with some volunteer mercenaries, called the Lydenburg Volunteer Corps, who were placed under the command of a German ex-officer Von Schlickmann with orders to keep in check and harass the Bapedi in so far as he could.

A fort, named Fort Burgers, was at once built opposite the drift on the Steelpoort at the foot of Morone mountain.

On September 29th Sekukuni with his Swazies under Mpehle attacked the fort with the object, according to the Native account, of recovering cattle which had been looted from them by volunteers. They recovered the cattle and killed two of the volunteers, but failed to take the fort. The volunteers were reinforced by recruits from the Kimberley diamond fields, but on November 17th Von Schlickmann was ambushed in a kloof some eight miles from the fort, while on a cattle looting expedition. He himself was killed and the volunteers suffered six other casualties.

Aylward⁴⁰ then took command at Fort Burgers and carried on little raids, burning huts and rounding up stock within a safe radius of the fort.

The Bapedi are accustomed to sow their crops late after, rather than with, the early rains, so they did not mind all this border skirmishing at first, but by December, when it became urgently necessary to prepare their garden lands, the presence of the volunteers along the Steelpoort at last had its desired effect. Early that month Sekukuni sent messengers

(38) 400 Wagons according to one account, 540 according to another.

(39) Moodie Vol. II page 272. For details of this fight see Carl Jeppe's *Kaleidoscopic Transvaal* in which he describes it as an eye witness.

(40) Aylward an ex-Fenian, probably his true name was Murphy, vide footnote to page 361 of Walker's *History of South Africa*.

to Pretoria asking that peace should be restored and the volunteers removed, but it was not before February 12th, 1877, that peace was proclaimed along the border.⁴¹

Certain officials acting for the Government met Sekukuni's representatives at Botshabelo near Middelburg on February 15th, and the next day the terms of peace were supposed to have been agreed to by Sekukuni. The final terms were that Sekukuni should become subject to the Republic, pay 2,000 cattle and receive a location to live in. The location as described in the terms was never marked out for him, its description at best was extremely vague: he delayed payment of any cattle, and he denied having signed any document. He had stated at the time that he would remain independent as his father had been, and would not become a subject of the Republic: it therefore seems extraordinary that he should have been allowed to put his mark to the terms of peace—if he ever did so, which seems doubtful.⁴²

Chapter V

FALL AND DEATH OF SEKUKUNI

1877 to 1882*

On April 12th, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal on behalf of the British Empire. The Lydenburg Volunteers were withdrawn from Fort Burgers and disbanded after a party of them had tried to enter Sekukuniland to prospect for gold and had been turned back by the Natives.⁴³

Captain Clarke, R. A.,⁴⁴ was sent as Special Commissioner to take over the Bapedi situation, but as Sekukuni still considered himself unconquered the situation was not easy.

Sekukuni pretended to welcome the new rulers of the Transvaal but did not pay the 2,000 cattle under the recent terms of peace, though he offered 170 which Shepstone refused.⁴⁵

(41) *Transvaal of Today* Aylward page 91.

(42) See Rider Haggard's mission to Sekukuni to ascertain the truth of this matter.

*Consult Map II for this Chapter.

(43) May 1877. Aylward. *Transvaal of Today* pages 107 to 109.

(44) Afterwards Sir Marshal Clarke, first resident Commissioner of Basutoland.

(45) *Transvaal of Today* Aylward page 245. Another authority says 300 were paid.

The Bapedi soon began to indulge in cattle stealing round Lydenburg town, became very truculent and shot a farmer named Venter at Naaupoort (No. 141).⁴⁶

On the western side of Sekukuniland the Matlala broke into two sections and began quarrelling among themselves: one party of them under Shigoane Maserumule claimed to be under Sekukuni and independent of White rule,⁴⁷ the other party under Pokwani regarded themselves as under the protection of the Government and refused to acknowledge Sekukuni, who sent a regiment⁴⁸ to raid them. Thus began another Sekukuni war.⁴⁹

Captain Clarke applied for troops, but there were only a few in South Africa and they were wanted elsewhere, so he was allowed to recruit 200 Zulu police. With these he managed to drive back the Matlala of Shigoane after a fight near Fort Weeber⁵⁰ and establish an advanced fort named Mamalube closer to the Lulu. Soon after this Clarke himself was nearly lured into an ambush below Magnet Heights and only extricated his force with loss.⁵¹

Thus matters simmered on with Sekukuni doing much as he pleased, murdering, raiding for cattle and disturbing the whole countryside. It was also alleged that he was intriguing with the Zulus who were on the verge of war.

To account for this state of affairs being allowed to run on so long, it must be remembered that small matters have to wait on others proportionately greater.⁵² At that time Britain was negotiating with Russia at San Stefano, so did not wish to appear to have to move soldiers from Europe and therefore even wanted to delay the Zulu war.⁵³ The Cabinet had refused to reinforce General Thesiger a month before the Zulu war began.

Thus there were no adequate forces to deal with Sekukuni. The system of holding forts in and around Sekukuniland was the method adopted by Colonel Rowlands, who had assumed command, till decisive action could be taken.

(⁴⁶) March 8th, 1878.

(⁴⁷) Kgobalale.

(⁴⁸) Lekgolane, Sekukuni's sister persuaded him to send this regiment.

(⁴⁹) March, 1878.

(⁵⁰) April 5th, 1878.

(⁵¹) June 17th, 1878.

(⁵²) Evelyn Wood: *From Midshipman to Field Marshal*. Chapter xxxiv, page 295.

(⁵³) December, 1878. Zulu War began January, 1879.

It was not till after the Zulu war that Sir Garnet Wolseley came to Pretoria⁵⁴ and was able to turn his attention to Sekukuni.

He made his plans with his usual precision. A column was formed at Middelburg consisting of six companies of the 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, six companies of the 94th Connaught Rangers, some Royal Engineers, Ferreira's Horse and four guns of the Transvaal Artillery. Colonel Baker Russell was placed in command of the force which also included the two remaining companies of the 94th and one company of the 80th South Staffords from Lydenburg.

A volunteer contingent from Rustenburg joined and Sir Garnet had arranged that Captain MacLeod of MacLeod, the Political Agent in Swaziland and his Lieutenant, Alister Campbell, R.N., should bring, via Lydenburg, a force of 8000 Swazies who were ready enough to come to avenge their 1875 defeat at Mosego and to endeavour to recapture or kill Umsutu and Mpehle. Mampuru, as before, came with the Swazies and his followers were used as stretcher-bearers.

The infantry partly marched and partly were conveyed in mule wagons from Middelburg round by the Olifants, past the northern end of the Lulu range and thence south-east to the mouth of the Dsjate valley where the whole force met according to plan.

Sir Garnet arrived on the scene and on November 28th the soldiers advanced, Major Carrington leading the attack straight into the valley towards the little stronghold kopje : Ferreira's Horse were on their right : the Swazies swarmed over the hills from the south and joined in the attack which was entirely successful.

Young Moroamotshe, Sekukuni's son and heir, stood with his back to a big rock and fought bravely till he was killed. Umsutu was also killed in another part of this fight. The Bapedi lost heavily. The British had forty-two casualties including Captain Macaulay, 12th Lancers, Captain Laurell, 4th Hussars, killed, and Lieutenant Alister Campbell, R.N., who was shot dead high up on the Lulu in the pursuit. The Swazi losses were estimated at 500. The transport lost a large number of mules from horse-sickness.

Sekukuni himself took refuge in a cave named Mamatamageng on Grootvygenboom, high up on the top of the Lulu. Major Clarke followed him up quickly after the fight, with some soldiers of the 94th and, entering the cave alone, called upon Sekukuni to surrender. All Bapedi trusted

(⁵⁴) September 27th, 1879.

Major Clarke, or "Tsogoane" as he is called on account of his loss of part of his left arm, and though they fought him they respected him. Major Clarke came out of the cave with Sekukuni and a few indunas and Mpehle. The soldiers lined up on each side of the mouth of the cave and as Major Clarke and Sekukuni passed between them they fired their rifles into the air and gave a shout. Major Clarke then gave the order that there was to be no more firing or killing.

Thus ended the Sekukuni menace which had been a nightmare to the Transvaal for years.

Sekukuni was sent as a prisoner to Pretoria with his half-brother Nkwemasogane, the Swazi Mpehle and a few attendants.

On Major Clarke's recommendation, Sir Garnet Wolseley granted the Berlin Lutheran Society a site for a mission on Dsjate provided they occupied it at once, so within the next few weeks they sent the Reverend J. A. Winter who established his mission⁵⁵ in the midst of the ruins of the destroyed head stad with the unburied Native corpses still on the battlefield around.

Mampuru and Ramoroko⁵⁶ temporarily became joint chiefs of the Bapedi. Ramoroko was the son of one of Sekwati's lesser wives and a supporter of Mampuru, though it is said that his actual father was Sekukuni, who on account of this had had to live separate from Sekwati up to the time of the latter's death in 1861. Mampuru established himself with the bulk of the chief's family at Kgono (now Brakfontein No. 157) in the Middelburg District, while Ramoroko chose to remain in what is now Sekukuniland.

On August 8th, 1881, came the retrocession of the Transvaal. The question had been raised whether that part of the Transvaal east of longitude 30° should be retroceded. This would have affected Sekukuniland, but it was decided to include the whole Transvaal as annexed in 1877.

Article 23 of the Pretoria Convention of 1881 provided that Sekukuni should be released forthwith and have a location defined for him. He therefore returned to a small stad named Manoge under the western slope of the Lulu where he made his headquarters for the time being, meaning to choose a better place later on. His half-brother Kgolokoe left Mampuru at Kgono and returned to him.

(⁵⁵) January, 1880.

(⁵⁶) Ramoroko is the "Ramrod" of Moodie's account of Fighting Kop.

The new Republican Government sent a flag to Mampuru as a sign of recognition of his local status. He refused the flag and refused to go to Pretoria when summoned, saying that he was either under the British or independent. When a commando was sent to fetch him he ran away to Tjetje (Steynsdrift 16) on the Steelpoort, so Mogase of the chief's family was appointed chief at Kgono.

In August 1882 Sekukuni was at Manoge with most of his able-bodied men away, lent by him to the new Native Commissioner Abel Erasmus to help collect tax from the Marishane people. On the 13th of the month Mampuru came with a group of followers, surrounded Sekukuni in the night and assegaied him as he slept under a shelter in front of his hut.

Thus Sekukuni's death was violent just as his life had been. He was a thin, fierce-looking man. As a child he had seen the Matebele invasion : he had been with his father Sekwati in the Northern Transvaal and had known no peace during those four years : neither did he find peace when his father returned to Sekukuniland. He first shows up as a leader when a young man at Phiring and his seizure of the chieftainship at Mosego is typical of his energy, resource and cunning. His struggle against the rising tide of White occupation and rule was as hopeless as, in those days, it was inevitable.

Chapter VI

THE SPLITTING OF THE TRIBE INTO DIVISIONS AND FACTIONS

Had Sekukuni's son Moroamotshe lived he would have been heir to the chieftainship, but he had been killed in 1879 at the storming of Sekukuni's stronghold.

During his lifetime he had been provided with a wife, the daughter of Mutle, the chief at Mphahlela's in the Pietersburg District, but this woman had died, so Mutle, according to custom, had to give another daughter in her place. This substitute, or *seantlu*, was Thorometjane⁵⁷ who was too young to come to Moroamotshe before he was killed in action.

It has been shown above that old Chief Sekwati's senior son was really Moyalodi, a quarrelsome unpopular man with a talkative shrew of a mother, so he had been passed over as a possible successor and the

(⁵⁷) Thorometjane II. daughter of Chief Mutle Mphahela. Still alive 1931.

struggle for the chieftainship had been between Sekukuni and Mampuru. This Moyalodi had two sons, Phethedi and Sekwati.

This young Sekwati had escaped from the 1879 disaster at Fighting Kop and had taken refuge with Leganabatho, the mother of Thorometjane, at Mphahlela's. In the absence of any other member of the Maruteng family Leganabatho allowed young Sekwati to have connection with Thorometjane. Early in 1881 it was reported to Sekukuni, in prison in Pretoria, that Thorometjane at Mphahlela's had a male child⁵⁸ by this young man. Sekukuni saw at once that Moyalodi's house had thus got back the succession. Directly on his release Sekukuni sent for Thorometjane and her baby and named the child Sekukuni after himself, thus in the eyes of the tribe preferring his own house name to that of Moyalodi.

Young Sekwati in due course was done away⁵⁹ with as he might have boasted when drunk and made public what should be kept as a close family secret of the Ba-Maruteng.

On the death of Sekukuni I in 1882 Kgolokoe, a half-brother of his from a lesser house, became regent for the young Sekukuni. He at once requested the Government to deal with Mampuru for the murder of the late chief.

After the murder Mampuru had taken refuge with the Amandebele of Nyabela, the son of Mabogo, generally known as "Mapoch."

Nyabela, when summoned by the Government to give up the murderer, refused to do so.

The Transvaal was at this time in a disorganised state and a serious expedition against a powerful Native tribe would probably not have been undertaken by the Volksraad had it not been considered advisable to demonstrate practically to the British Government that they were better able to cope with the Native tribes than had been the case prior to the 1877 annexation.

A commando under General Joubert was sent and Kgolokoe supplied auxiliaries, mostly Bakoni. The fighting was of a desultory nature and the campaign lasted nine months. General Joubert complained to the Volksraad that the burghers seemed to prefer looting cattle on their own account to fighting. Nyabela's people held caves

(⁵⁸) Sekukuni II. born at end of 1880.

(⁵⁹) Killed by order of Kgolokoe early in 1883 at the time of the Mapoch war.

and skanses difficult to get at, but the blockade was eventually successful. On July 11th, 1883, Nyabela handed over Mampuru and surrendered with more than 10,000 of his tribe. The burghers then burnt the headstad and indentured the Mapoch tribe in the usual manner, scattering them over the country. Nyabela was sentenced to imprisonment for life but was released in 1898. Mampuru was taken to Pretoria and there hanged on November 22nd, 1883.

Malekutu II, the son of Mampuru, escaped to the Mapulana of Pilgrims Rest, below the berg, and later was allowed to return to the Middelburg District and settle at Mamone (Hoogelegen 364). His son Sekwati is the present chief at Mamone.

The London Convention of 1884⁶⁰ reaffirmed the 1881 Pretoria Convention as to the appointment of a commission to mark out certain Native locations. Thus on May 31st, 1885, a large location of about 400 square miles was marked out for the Bapedi in the open country west of the Lulu and named Geluks Location after the regent Kgolokoe; the name "Geluk" being the Afrikaans contraction of the Native regent's name.

In the years following 1886 Kgolokoe became unpopular with his tribesmen because, in compliance with repeated orders from the Government, he kept on forcing his people to go and work on the building of the Delagoa Bay railway⁶¹, where a number of them died of fever.

In so far as he could Kgolokoe continued to follow instructions given him by the Native Commissioner, Abel Erasmus, and supplied labour when requisitioned.

He also gave assistance to the Reverend J. A. Winter, the missionary who used generally to act as interpreter to Abel Erasmus on his visits to Sekukuniland. In spite of much persuasion Kgolokoe continued to refuse to become a Christian till the actual day of his death in 1893⁶² when he allowed Winter to baptize him.

In 1892⁶³ Winter had broken off from the Berlin Mission and had founded a sect of his own called the Bapedi Lutheran Church.

Now came another of those divisions which have split and weakened the Bapedi as a tribe.

(⁶⁰) February 27th, 1884.

(⁶¹) Delagoa Bay railway begun June 2nd, 1886.

(⁶²) June 4th, 1893.

(⁶³) April 5th, 1892.

At the time of old Sekukuni's death Kgolokoe, though not quite senior by birth, had been an acceptable regent to the tribe and had proved satisfactory to the Government. But when he died the Bamaruteng and the rest of the tribe expected that the Government would sanction the appointment of a new regent chosen by them. The main tribal alternatives for the regency were :—

- (1) Kgogolagae, old Sekukuni's chief wife who was getting old :
- (2) Thorometjane, the mother of young Sekukuni.
- (3) Kgobalale, who was senior uncle but was still a young unmarried man.
- (4) Mabue of the next house ; and
- (5) Phethedi of Mayalodi's house which had fallen away.

The tribe wanted either Kgogolagae or Thorometjane appointed, with young Kgobalale as " mouthpiece " in all official matters till the child Sekukuni, now 14 years old, should grow up.

In the light of subsequent events it cannot sufficiently be emphasized that there was so far no dispute about Sekukuni's ultimate succession, the question of the moment was merely who should be regent for him.

Mabue and Phethedi each went separately and secretly to Abel Erasmus at Krugerspost to prefer their claims and were refused. Neither did Abel Erasmus consider it advisable to have as regent such a young man as Kgobalale, for that was what the appointment of Kgogolagae or Thorometjane would have amounted to, though, as subsequent events show, this might have been the wisest course. In the end he appointed Ramoroko temporarily, to the great indignation of the tribe.

Pasoane, the head of the large Batau section, openly told the Commissioner at a *pitso* that he would refuse to obey Ramoroko and ostentatiously left the *pitso*.

A deputation of the Bamaruteng started off to Lydenburg to interview the Landdrost, Jansen, and to ask him to represent their case to the Government. Abel Erasmus intercepted the deputation before it reached Lydenburg, flogged Bokgobelo, an uncle of young Sekukuni, Pasoane and some others, then sent the whole deputation, which included Kgogolagae and Thorometjane, under arrest to Pretoria. Kgogolagae died in prison and some of the others remained there for four years.

Thus Ramoroko was installed as temporary regent, but after a year, finding that he could make no headway, he suggested to Abel Erasmus

that he should be allowed to resign and advised the appointment of Kgolane, the son of Kgolokoe.

Ramoroko thus disappeared from the picture and died about a year later in 1895.⁶⁴

Abel Erasmus appointed Kgolane as temporary regent⁶⁵. By custom Kgolane had no rightful claim to be regent and guardian of the young Sekukuni as he was merely the son of a former regent. It is not clear why Abel Erasmus did this : as Native Commissioner he must have known that it would be quite unacceptable to the tribe.

Perhaps he did it purposely to weaken the tribe by creating a division among them and it should be remembered that the Bapedi were still strong and were in possession of a number of firearms : perhaps he was influenced by the zealous missionary, Winter, who did his interpreting and, being a keen admirer of the late Kgolokoe, wanted the latter's son appointed.

The tribe almost as a whole disregarded Kgolane, except in official matters when forced to do so.

From that day to this the only loyal supporters of Kgolane's house, apart from his own stad, have been two minor headmen, Seopela and Rahlagane who had married into his family and also some of Winter's Christians round Schoonoord and Maila's.

At that time the tribal head stad was at Masehleng in Geluks Location under the western slope of the Lulu. Kgolane was living in one part of the stad a little separate from the other Baramuteng whose head was Kgobalale and who regarded themselves as senior to Kgolane. Erasmus told them to recognize Kgolane and pay him the customary three right-side ribs of any beast killed, but none of them did so, even though Erasmus threatened them with arrest and told them that their cattle would be confiscated.

An incident soon arose which brought matters to a head.⁶⁶ Kgolane was ordered by Erasmus to turn out labour for work on farms. Among others Moreoane, the son of Moyalodi, was detailed to go but, as was often the case, provided a substitute. A few days later Kgolane noticed Moreoane still at home, so, without listening to his explanation, had him tied up. In the struggle Moreoane was stabbed in the leg and

(⁶⁴) July 7th, 1895.

(⁶⁵) 1894.

(⁶⁶) January, 1896.

neck. The young Bamaruteng of the stad rescued Moreoane and gave Kgolane a beating. Kgolane's followers attacked the Kgobalale faction but were driven off.

Field Cornet David Schoeman came out with a small commando and chased away some of Kgobalale's men who were looting cattle from Kgolane's adherents on Schoonoord and had wounded a Bapedi Lutheran Native minister named Martinus Sebushane.

Abel Erasmus, Commandant Schalk Burger and David Schoeman called⁶⁷ both parties together at Magnet Heights, heard the dispute and decided Kgobalale was to blame. Kgobalale was arrested and sent to Pretoria and the Maruteng party fined heavily in cattle.

Towards the end of February General Joubert himself came to Sekukuniland, having previously sent forward young Sekukuni and his mother Thorometjane from Pretoria. He held a *pitso* at Malagali attended by twenty-seven headmen and some 1,200 Bapedi, with Winter as interpreter, and announced that he had decided to divide Geluks Location into halves. Thorometjane was appointed chieftainess of the northern portion on behalf of her son Sekukuni, now about sixteen years old, and Kgolane was appointed chief of the southern portion. He then gave Sekukuni and Kgolane each a Transvaal flag. Sekukuni was sent to Pretoria Location to school and returned to Sekukuniland in October 1897.

On February 29th Erasmus, Schalk Burger and David Schoeman cut the location in two and set up the dividing beacons. The followers of each faction were told to remove to their respective halves of the Location.

In a further report to the Volksraad on April 18th General Joubert exonerated Kgobalale and placed the blame for the trouble in Sekukuniland on Kgolane; so Kgobalale was released from Pretoria by order of the Executive Council⁶⁸ and sent home.

The cattle taken from his party were ordered to be returned and Kgolane was ordered to pay cattle instead, but in December this latter fine was remitted.⁶⁹

(⁶⁷) February 8th, 1896:

(⁶⁸) Executive Council Resolution 315 dated 23rd April, 1896.

(⁶⁹) Ex. Co. Resolution dated 23rd December, 1896.

The Maruteng party moved during the winter of 1896⁷⁰ from Kgolane's stad at Masehleng and made their headquarters at Mohlaletse about seven miles further north, the rival head kraals thus remaining dangerously close to one another. A section of the Baphuthi under Nkoane Pashe, who was a supporter of Sekukuni, moved from the farm Nkoanestad No. 28 into the northern end of Geluks Location. As the Kgolane half of the location was the most thickly populated, the best watered and most fertile it was found that very few moved from that portion over to Sekukuni's, though the vast majority of them still covertly remained Sekukuni's adherents and did not recognize Kgolane as a chief.

The outbreak of rinderpest⁷¹ does not seem to have affected the Bapedi so much as some other tribes. They had lost a number of cattle in various ways during the recent troubles and do not appear, at that time, to have been rich in this respect.

The Bamaruteng faction did not take the official division of the chieftainship without a murmur. They knew they were not strong enough to rebel openly. Though a certain number of Martini-Henry rifles had lately come into their possession as an addition to their old muskets, they were well aware that the burghers were rearming with Mausers.⁷² They therefore engaged a lawyer named Van Soelen to fight their case in the courts. He demanded a heavy fee which they were prepared to raise by sending labour recruits through him to the mines.

In 1897 Van Soelen advised all who were Sekukuni's upholders to tell their tax collector that they would all come and pay their taxes at Mohlaletse, Sekukuni's new head stad, and said that he himself would come and meet their Commissioner there.

Van der Wal, who from 1896 had been stationed at the old mission station at Schoonoord in Geluks Location as detached clerk to Abel Erasmus, had to go and collect tax and heard of this. He reported to Erasmus that they refused to pay tax. The upshot was that General Cronje came with a commando and summoned Thorometjane and Kgobalale with all their headmen to a meeting at Malagali.⁷³ On their

(70) July, 1896.

(71) 1896:

(72) On being re-armed with mausers some farmers traded off their older weapons to Natives in spite of severe gun-running laws.

(73) Towards the end of 1897:

arrival General Cronje ordered the men of his commando, while he was having breakfast, to seize the headmen, excluding Thorometjane and Kgobalale, and give each twenty-five lashes. He then ordered them to pay taxes as usual. Van Soelen took up this case as well as that of the chieftainship. Eventually each headman who had been lashed was awarded £5 compensation by the Government, though Van Soelen accomplished nothing in the matter of the reunification of the chieftainship.

Thus by the beginning of the Anglo-Boer war in October 1899 we find the tribe split into three main divisions occupying the country north-west of the Steelpoort and into the northern Middelburg District. There were then few or no Whites in that area except the families of the Commissioner's clerk, Van der Wal, and of the missionary Winter, together with four or five White traders, two of whom were married.⁷⁴

Young Sekukuni had been relegated as prospective chief of the northern half of Geluks Location only,⁷⁵ though actually nearly all Bapedi and kindred sections of the tribe throughout the whole of the location, throughout Sekukuniland (i.e. north-west of the Steelpoort) and also as far as Ohrigstad, Lydenburg, in parts of the Middelburg District and even here and there north of the Olifants river acknowledged him openly or secretly as their hereditary paramount chief.

Kgolane's position as a government-appointed puppet with but a comparatively small following loyal to him was difficult, the majority of his followers, officially regarded as such in his southern half of Geluks Location, being only too ready to seize the first available opportunity to get rid of him.

The third main division of the tribe were those who clung to Mampuru's son and successor Malekutu, living in the north-Middelburg District alongside the Geluks Location boundary and backed by the Matlala section in the Pokwani Location. This division still claimed the Mampuru succession as rightfully paramount and were bitterly opposed to the Ba-Maruteng of the Sekukuni group whom they regarded as usurpers.

So the stage was set for the further shedding of Bapedi blood directly the war between the two White races of South Africa cleared it by the removal of White control.

(⁷⁴) Shroder, Hannan, married; Lawrence, Ward, unmarried;

(⁷⁵) Situation in 1899:

*Chapter VII**THE ANGLO-BOER WAR PERIOD*

1899-1902

On the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war parties of burghers were posted in Geluks Location as guards, and a levy of 2s. 6d. per tax-paying Native was imposed for their upkeep.

At first the Bapedi, though possessing many firearms, kept quiet owing to the close watch kept upon them and as they were not sure which way the war was going.

When the British broke through into the Orange Free State and the Transvaal the White guards had to be withdrawn to go and fight.

Directly this happened Sekukuni determined to attack Kgolane.

On June 11th, 1900, Kgobalale was sent from Mohlaletse by night with 140 picked men to endeavour to surprise and kill Kgolane and his advisers at Masehleng. Kgolane and most of his men escaped but eight of his indunas and some others were killed. In this night attack two women were also killed, one party says deliberately and the other party says by accident: it is not generally the Bapedi custom to kill women in war and most of the women had relations on both sides.

Kgolane fled first across the Lulu and a few days later recrossed to Schoonoord where he found Commandant Klaas Prinsloo and a small commando with a wagon removing Van der Wal and his family. He accompanied them, together with a number of Christian Natives, from Schoonoord to Rietfontein—half-way between Schoonoord and Lydenburg.

Meanwhile three days after the Masehleng affair Kgobalale had attacked Kgolane's supporters under Headman Rahlagane who lived at Beletoa Hill near Malagali. A large number of Rahlagane's men were killed and his stad burnt.

On the same day Pasoane and his Batau in the southern half of the Location killed out the men of a small stad at Mangmang near Manganeng because they had formerly supported Ramoroko. Then Pasoane came to help Kgobalale against Rahlagane but the stad was already burning and the fight over.

Next day, on the same day that Van der Wal and Kgolane went out with Prinsloo, Pasoane moved on to Schoonoord but found that Kgolane's

followers under Headman Seopela had taken refuge in the Lulu and only a few very old men and women had remained behind at Headman Tsesane's Christian stad, so Pasoane had to content himself with burning Van der Wal's office and house.⁷⁶ He then followed up the burgher commando past Magnet Heights, skirmishing with them down as far as the Steelpoort drift.

After reaching Rietfontein safely with Prinsloo, Kgolane went to ask help from the Native Commissioner Abel Erasmus at Krugers Post. He wanted a commando to help him fight Sekukuni but no men could be spared and all that Erasmus could do was to lend him some rifles with 100 rounds per rifle. With these Kgolane returned to Sekukuniland and went to Malekutu, the son of Mampuru, at Mamone in the north-Middelburg District. Small groups of his scattered followers totalling altogether about 300 fighting men rejoined him there, though most had by this time made peace with Sekukuni, who now claimed to be chief of the whole of Sekukuniland as far as the Steelpoort.⁷⁷

Sekukuni attacked Mafefe across the Olifants and drove him out of his Location because in 1896 he had ousted young Ntoampe Magalaka, Sekukuni's cousin, from the chieftainship of the Magakala section.

Malekutu received a demand from Sekukuni to give up Kgolane or take the consequences. Malekutu refused to give him up and prepared to defend himself. Sekukuni collected a large force, including some 300 men of Mphahlela's Baroka-Bapedi, besides many more from Nkoane and Ntoampe Magakala and from all the headmen on the farms on the eastern side of the Lulu, and also many of those nominally under Micha Dinkoanyane and Magosebo from the White occupied farms across Steelpoort as well.

With these he attacked Malekutu in his stad at Mamone and would probably have overwhelmed him had not Fourie, the Middelburg Native Commissioner come to the latter's assistance with a small commando of twenty-three Whites, who, though few in number, included some exceptionally fine shots.⁷⁸ Their prestige gave as much confidence to the one side as it disheartened the other. The result was that Sekukuni

(76) Actual man who set fire to the house was petty Headman Kgobise. Schoonoord burnt June 14th, 1900.

(77) He repeatedly claimed that though the ground had been alienated to Companies and to farmers the people still remained his.

(78) Account by W. Schroder and Missionary Trumpelmann.

was driven off with a loss of over sixty killed and a large number of wounded, while Malekutu only lost about fifteen killed.⁷⁹

Malekutu and Kgolane then attacked and killed about thirty people of the kraal of Saboshigo Moreoane who was a supporter of Sekukuni living at Pahla, the headman himself and several of his sons being killed after surrendering. One son Mokini escaped to Sekukuni who located him and the remains of his people near Kgolane's old stad at Masehleng.

After this there was desultory fighting and both parties were preparing for a further trial of strength when British troops under Sir Redvers Buller occupied Lydenburg.

Both parties at once sent to get in touch with the British, each giving his own version of the recent inter-tribal fighting. Winter sent in a report on behalf of the Kgolane-Malekutu side and Sekukuni sent his secretary, named Asaf, personally.

On October 4th, 1900, General Buller issued instructions that all fighting in Sekukuniland must cease and an Intelligence Officer, Richmond Haigh, was sent to Magnet Heights.

Haigh, alone and cut off from support, combined the duties of Intelligence Officer and Acting Native Commissioner extraordinarily well and cleverly. He enlisted Kgobalale, Sekukuni's fighting leader, and Mateu, a prominent supporter and adviser of Kgolane, in his small police force and employed some of the local firebrands, such as Micha Dinkoanyane, on Intelligence work. In spite of great difficulties he managed to prevent any more inter-tribal fighting till the war was over in 1902.

Chapter VIII

RECENT EVENTS—1902 to 1930

On the restoration of civil government⁸⁰ Sir Godfrey Lagden from Basutoland took over the administration of the Natives of the Transvaal and appointed Sub-Native Commissioners in the Sekukuniland and Pokwani areas.

Kgolane, backed by Winter, applied to be restored to his chieftainship in the southern half of Geluks Location. Now that peace had been

(⁷⁹) August 1900.

(⁸⁰) 1902.

restored his men and their women folk wanted lands to plough and were naturally becoming a burden on Malekutu's resources.

As Sekukuni had no capable scribe or mouthpiece the new administration only had Winter's version of recent events and at the same time were anxious to get the Natives who had been displaced by the war back to their original positions. Knight, the Sub-Native Commissioner, on Winter's advice recommended that Kgolane should be restored to his pre-war position.

Kgolane was therefore brought back⁸¹ with the 780 men, women and children who had been at Malekutu's with him. He decided to vacate Masehleng, as being too close to Sekukuni, and made a new headquarters stad at Madibong on the western side of Geluks Location within close touch of Malekutu on the Pokwani side and at a safer distance from Sekukuni at Mohlaletse.

A couple of petty headmen Tsuane Maila and Mashupshoa, who openly refused to recognize him as chief, were removed to Sekukuni's half of the Location. Pasoane of the Batau and the majority of the other headmen in Kgolane's portion had no desire to leave their fertile lands and good water supply in order to be crowded into Sekukuni's less fertile and badly watered portion, so they remained quiet and only passively and covertly opposed Kgolane whenever opportunity occurred.

Mafefe had before this returned to his Location.⁸² Ntoampe with his following of the Magakala section came across the Olifants into Sekukuniland and settled on the Company farm Surbiton. Since those days the Bapedi have bought Surbiton and large portions of the two adjoining farms, making in all a 7000 morgen strip of land on the Mutze river for those Magakala people to occupy.

The Sub-Native Commissioner's task was therefore to curb Sekukuni's ambitions in regard to the reunification of the chieftainship and to continue to bolster up Kgolane in his difficult position of a non-hereditary government-appointed chief.

Unfortunately now that Kgobalale had become a valuable servant of the Government, Sekukuni's ignorant and retrograde uncle Bokgobelo became the chief influence of the Maruteng faction at Mohlaletse.

One of the first acts of the new Crown Colony government was the disarmament of the Transvaal Natives.

(⁸¹) August 1903.

(⁸²) 1901.

The Bapedi of Sekukuni were the only tribe to hesitate to obey the order. At first, at a *pitso* held at Schoonoord on September 5th, 1902, they refused to disarm, and it was not till late the next day that Kgobalale at last persuaded them to agree. 4121 firearms were handed in by Sekukuni's people during September and October 1902 and subsequently about another 200 were surrendered. Malekutu's people were similarly disarmed on the Pokwani side without raising any difficulty.

Chief Kgolane died of consumption on April 13th, 1904. He was only a comparatively young man of about forty-five years.

His son and heir by his chief wife Moroke, a daughter of Ramoroko, was Kgolokoe II, then about twelve years old, and too young to take over the succession, so an uncle Marisane, who was own brother to Kgolane by the same mother, was appointed regent for him. The young Kgolokoe was sent to Lovedale to be educated, a levy being imposed on his people to pay his school fees. Needless to say this levy was not an easy matter to collect.

In the middle of 1905 Chief Malekutu died and was succeeded by his son Sekwati the present chief.

By this time Sekukuniland had settled down. Most of the young men had begun to be accustomed to go to the mines to work for their tax money. The bitter feeling against the chieftainship of the house of Kgolokoe was never far from the surface and always ready to show itself, but fear of the consequences, namely possible removal from home and from garden lands, prevented any overt act of faction strife.

The Bambata rebellion in Zululand⁸³ gave rise to grave fears among the neighbouring White population that the Bapedi might also follow the Zulu example. There was the usual "fear complex" and the White people seemed unable to grasp that the Bapedi were now disarmed, and, though they were undoubtedly in touch with the Zulus through mutual emissaries, there were never any real grounds for such fears. The Bapedi, as is the case with all Transvaal Natives, knew perfectly well that they could never again fight a successful war with assegais, sticks and stones against White authority backed by machine guns.

In 1906 East Coast Fever appeared among the cattle but did not become serious till 1908 by which time it had spread throughout Sekukuniland. All the branding, fencing and shooting out of infected cattle resorted to by the Government did not stop its spread.

(⁸³) 1906.

Over 10,700 cattle were shot⁸⁴ and compensation paid for them at the rate of between 10s. and 15s. a head, apart from those which died of the disease for which no money was paid. The loss eventually totalled close upon 20,000 head.

It was not till the cattle had been placed in concentration camps, each with its separate grazing area, and no movements allowed that the disease died out. By that time there were only 7,800 cattle left in the Lydenburg area of Sekukuniland.

Meanwhile ploughing with oxen had to cease and the old-fashioned hoe came again into full use. Thus the years 1911-1912 were particularly hard for the Bapedi. Eventually a large number of donkeys were bought which helped to relieve the hard times, being used both for transport and ploughing purposes. The loss of cattle temporarily upset the *lobolo* system to some extent and was the cause of much subsequent civil litigation.

In 1914 the concentration camps were abolished, dipping tanks were built and general compulsory dipping imposed, with the result that the cattle rapidly increased to nearly 60,000 in Sekukuniland, excluding the Pokwani area. This large number of cattle together with 100,000 small stock is more than the area can conveniently carry.

From 1907 to 1911 young Kgolokoe was at Lovedale and his uncle Marisane was acting as regent for him. Marisane was a man of weak character, an invalid and never regarded as of any account by the Bapedi. By 1911 he had become a drunken half-imbecile man whom it was no longer possible to prop up as a chief. It therefore again became a question whether to reunite the chieftainship of the whole of the Natives of Geluks Location under Sekukuni, or to bring the youthful Kgokokoe back from Lovedale, make him chief of the southern half of the location and thus continue the official division of the tribe. The former course would have given permanent satisfaction to the tribe and would have enabled it to go ahead free from the constant threat of internal strife and bitterness which is always ready to crop up. The authorities in Pretoria however eventually decided, once more to the great disappointment of the tribe, not to reunify the chieftainship and ordered Kgolokoe II to be brought home from Lovedale and installed in his father's position.⁸⁵ The mass of his nominal followers, like the rest of the Natives of Sekukuniland, still look upon Sekukuni as the chief and regard Kgolokoe merely as a headman of Maruteng blood living at Madibong.

(⁸⁴) 1909-1911.

(⁸⁵) July 27th 1911.

Kgolokoe has so far proved himself a capable man but at times he feels his position acutely. He himself keeps on friendly terms with Sekukuni, to whom at *pitsos* he defers as his senior and speaks of as his "elder brother."

By this time (1931) chiefs have gradually lost their old powers of directing main events, and the tribe have come to look more and more to their local Commissioner, who has been able to check and head off much of the old ill-feeling in respect of the division of the chieftainship, though it is always present as a retarding influence and possible danger.

During the world war of 1914-1918 the Natives of South Africa were called upon to supply volunteers for service in the various Native Labour Corps. The Bapedi supplied a few men for South-West Africa, a much larger number for East Africa, where many died of fever, and for France, to which country no less than 3300 went from Sekukuniland. The Native Labour Corps recruits from this district were more numerous than from any other single district in the Union and were reported on by the authorities in France as having been good workers and very well behaved.

Up to 1922 the Bapedi had never bought any land. Geluks Location,* dating from the Pretoria and London Conventions of 1881 and 1884, was the only location in the whole Lydenburg District, including the Pilgrims Rest and Game Reserve areas. From 1904 the Government imposed rents on Natives living on Crown Land farms, while the Companies, which owned almost all the balance of the farms in Sekukuniland, steadily year by year tightened up the collections of their Native farm rents. In the earlier days it scarcely seems to have occurred to the Bapedi that *naga* (veld), as they call it, was a purchasable commodity. After 1908, from time to time at *pitsos* the idea of buying land to give the tribe more scope, to give fixity of tenure and to free the people from rent paying was frequently mooted to them by their Commissioner. The influence of Bokgobelo, Sekukuni's uncle and the ruling mind at Mohlaletse was always against land purchase as he refused to recognize that times had changed from the days of Thulare and Sekwati. He continued steadfastly to assert that Sekukuniland as a whole was the property of the Bapedi and they should not buy what belonged to them.

It was not till 1922, the year before old Bokgobelo died, that the tribe on the advice of their Commissioner Hunt at a *pitso* held at Schoonoord on September 26th, 1922, agreed to impose a levy on themselves at the rate of £1 per annum per tax-paying Native as from January 1st, 1923,

*See Map III.

with a view to buying back Sekukuniland gradually, farm by farm. Since then the Pokwani Natives have followed suit with the result that, on the Sekukuniland and Pokwani sides combined, some two dozen farms or portions of farms have been tribally bought.

It has been shown that before 1860 the Berlin Lutheran Society under Merensky had started Christianity in Sekukuniland in Sekwati's days and that Sekukuni I had turned them out in 1864. Winter of the same Society restarted mission work in 1880 but seceded and founded the Bapedi Lutheran Church on his own account in 1892. The Berlin Society however sent another missionary to reside at Lobethal on the Pokwani side.

In about 1907 the Wesleyans also started a mission on that side.

In 1921 the Anglicans founded a medical mission, called the Jane Furse Memorial Hospital, on the Pokwani border with their doctor acting as district surgeon in an area which till then had had no doctor within a radius of seventy miles of the new hospital. This institution has done an enormous amount of good towards the health and welfare of the tribe.

In 1927 the Dutch Reformed Church established themselves on Mooiplaats, the most northern farm of the Middelburg District on the Olifants.

The latest entrants of the Sekukuniland mission field are the Roman Catholics, who in 1929 went to Morgenzon near the Pokwani office.

On March 7th 1921 after forty-one years in Sekukuniland the old missionary Winter died on the farm Mecklenburg. From the time when he seceded from the Berlin Society and founded his Bapedi Lutheran sect he had always closely identified himself with local Native politics as a keen supporter of the Kgolokoe house. Prior to 1899 he frequently acted as a government interpreter at *pitsos* and even did so on two or three occasions in 1902 till the Natives objected. He was also employed by a land company to collect their rents. Owing to his interference in tribal matters the first request Sekukuni made to the military authorities in 1900 was to have him removed. He was always a forceful, independent character and his influence had much to do with the shaping of events in Sekukuniland. After his death the Bapedi Lutherans began quarrelling among themselves and do not seem to have made much headway.

Since Winter's death there has been no resident White missionary in Sekukuniland on the Lydenburg side. All the missions where Whites reside are along the Pokwani border, some being very close together.

Of recent years the whole area has become overstocked and losses such as occurred in 1927 when 10,000 cattle died of poverty seem bound to happen again whenever there is a drought.

In 1924 and 1925 a platinum boom swept through Sekukuniland like a grass fire. The whole area was closely prospected, roads were opened up and some half dozen mines were opened. One result was that the Natives were able to earn good money on the mines at their own homes, while another result, less fortunate, was the almost entire disappearance of wild game for which Sekukuniland had previously been celebrated.

By the end of 1930 the last of the platinum mines closed down but the game had not returned to its old haunts.

A Local Council for Geluks Location was started in 1928 and is still in its infancy. Already it has done some useful work towards improving the water supply.

As to the future of the 100,000 or more Natives forming the Bapedi tribe and clans in the Sekukuniland and Pokwani areas north-west of the Steelpoort it is difficult to prophesy. The tribe are unlikely to rest content till by purchase they have won back the land to the old 1857 treaty line of the Steelpoort. With such conservative people it will probably be advisable to keep to the tribal system for some considerable time to come.

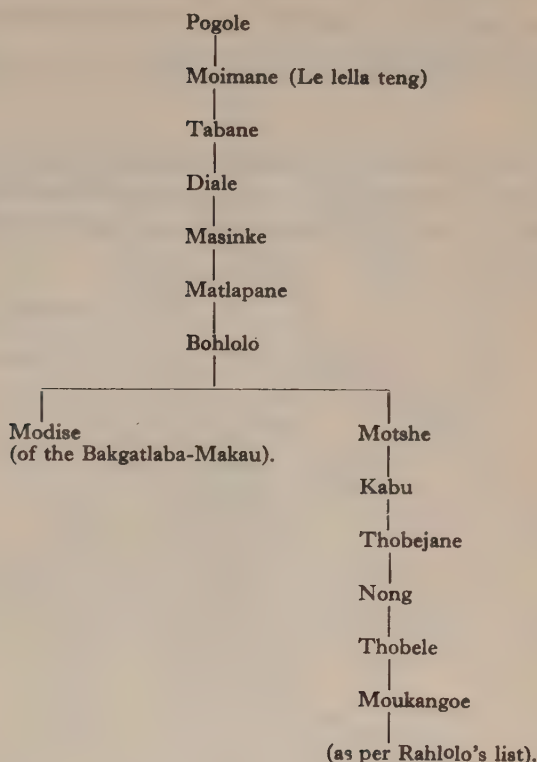
Ultimately it might be possible to join Sekukuniland to its Pokwani area and make it one single separate district under one Commissioner and with one nominal paramount chief. It would then have the natural boundaries of the Steelpoort to the east, the Olifants to the north and west and a ridge of hills to south. Instead of calling it by names of chiefs such as Geluk and Sekukuni, it could then be more truly known as "Bapediland."*

If their local Commissioner can keep in check the deep-rooted internal factional jealousies, and if the tribe can, without interference, go quietly ahead with its land purchases so as not to become unduly overcrowded, it should gradually show steady and solid progress. Except for regulation-made misdemeanours there is but little serious crime, stock theft being almost unknown.

The future of the tribe would then lie mainly with the activities of that new branch of Native Affairs known as the Native Agricultural Department.

*See Map IV.

According to Malikgopa :—



Other old Natives vary again from the above two lists when giving the names of chiefs prior to Moukangoe, in fact no two authorities are alike the further back they go.

Malikgopa's Pogole may have been either the name of a place or an ancestor. This name can be heard daily when two Bapedi women greet each other with the words "*Dumela, ngoana-oa-Pogole!*" or the more clipped "*Dumela, ngoan'-a-Pogole!*" (Greeting, child of Pogole!)

Rahlolo's placing of Le-lella-teng who after circumcision was called Moimane, is much the more probable of the two.

Both Malikgopa and Rahlolo agree that Motshe was a contemporary of Modise of the Bakgatla-ba-Makau. According to Malikgopa the

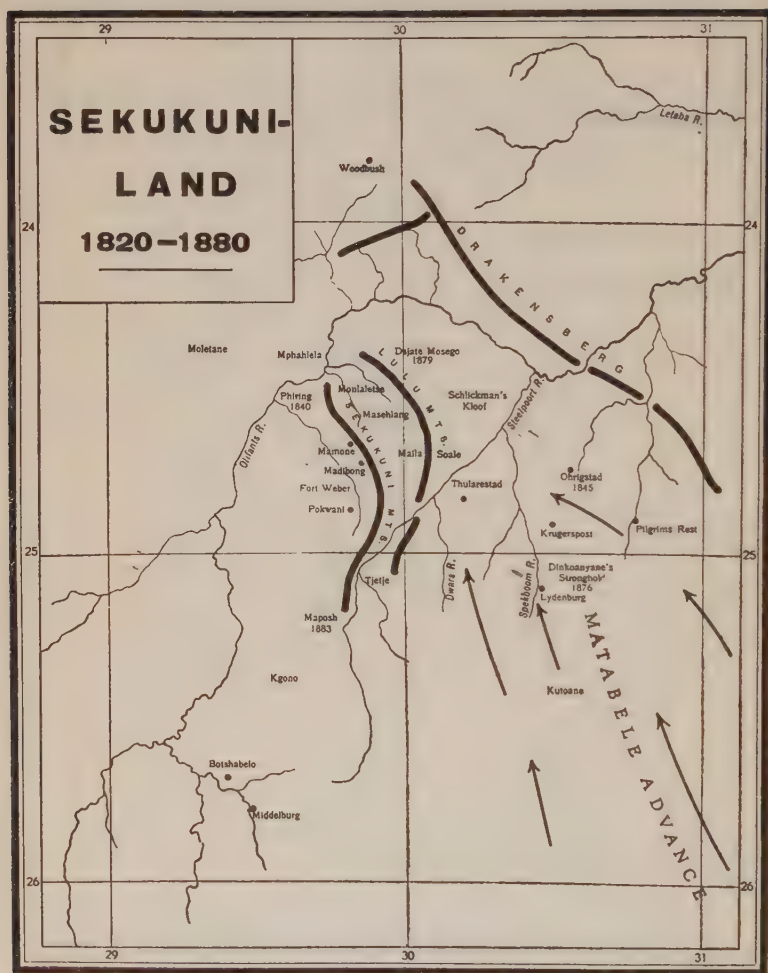
Bapedi broke away from the Bakgatla during the chieftainship of Thobejane. Rahlolo says that Motshe and Thobele came together to Sekukuni-land and his version is supported by other old men who say that Motshe was buried on the Steelpoort.

NOTE

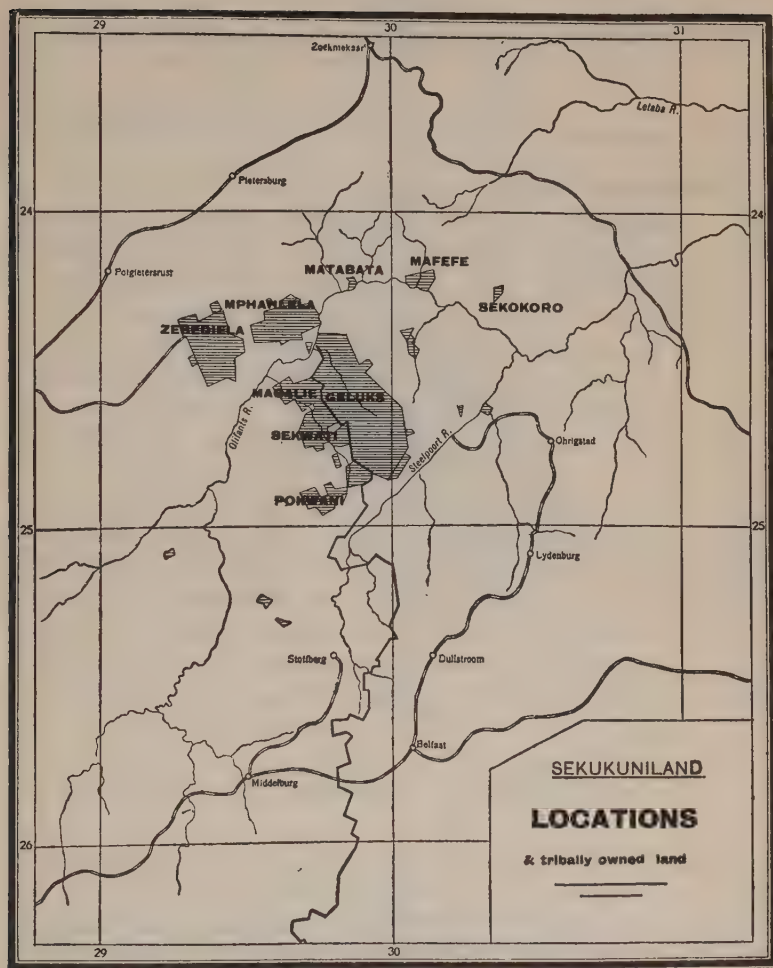
The maps for this article have been drawn by Mr. S. P. Jackson, B.A., and Miss D. Kotzé, B.A. of the Department of Geography of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, to whom the author is very grateful.



MAP I

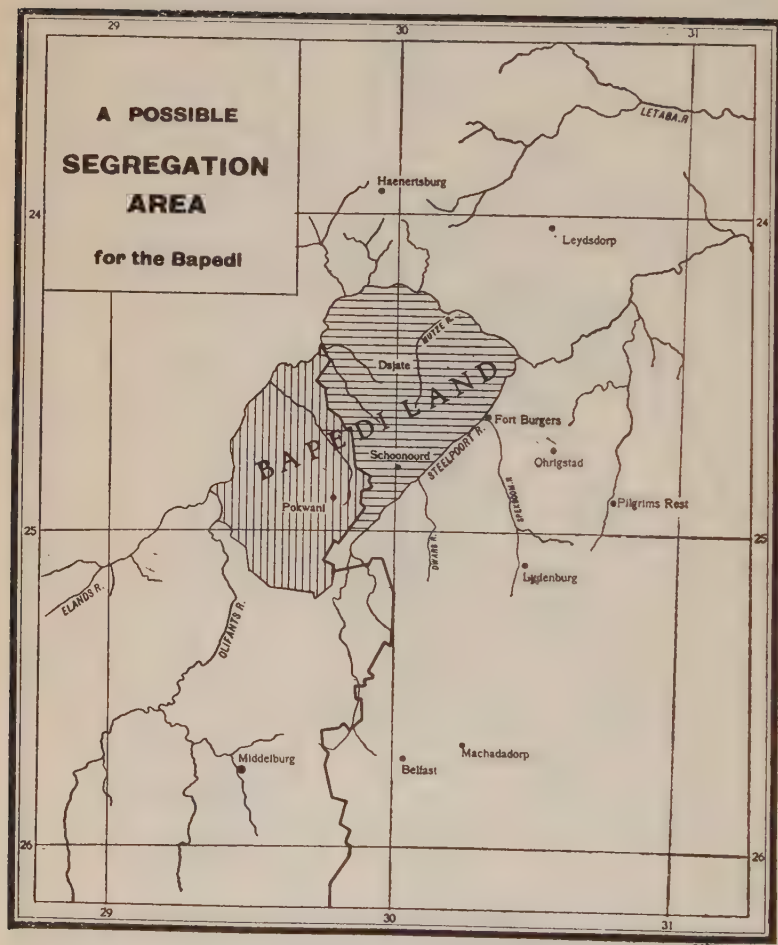


MAP II



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MAP III



MAP IV

KINIRAMBA FOLK TALES

Collected By

FREDERICK JOHNSON

I. KALUSIMU WAKI KUKU NI SIMBA

Simba ni kuku ali kigema makula kali Simba aliluma gingu ni kuku nikunkula 'Konkolegu.' Simba niuga 'Wani nakwilika ninene.' Nitumwa inoni Dudui lenda umulae uyu nwindulia 'Mkulu zi wani?' Inoni iyi nienda nimwagana. Mumbi niuga 'Uwe ukumlulia umnawika?' Mumbi niuga 'Ee nene.' Gaile 'U mkulu zi wani?' 'Lenda uge Mkulu zi nzogu hina lakwe Sumbu Mnaluli. Dudui wenda wauga yoi, 'Ngaile Lina lakwe Sumbu Mnaluli mkulu zi nzogu.' Simba niuga 'To uwenze wane wa m'kingo lenda uge Msengi Mnawika. mlumilakuli.' Nutwala nupelwa uwenze wa simba, mumbi nusola nunankila kwi'tembe nukula uli wa m'kingo nuga 'Mtwalile isau Simba.' Nienda nilaa nikula naulipi wa mwi'tue, Dudui niulwa 'Mtwalile muile 'Utite nguru gana.' Nutwalilwa Sumbu nwenda nulaa. Mumbi nukula nantende nalulipi kukisuti luguli. Simba nitwalilwa nilaa udu nilongola sitambwile nwenda nigona nisigya niuga 'Sumbu mkulu zi nzogu nakiyenda kumumana.' Nienda nitungila utiku wensi, nawela kidaudau. Mumbi nunankila kwi'tembe nukunkula 'Nene Sumba Mnanuli.' Simba nilaa itembe niuga 'Mkulu tai.' Nimanka antu namione namiulaga. Simba ni kuku, kuku kulu ikunkula udu, Simba nwenda kuwi.

I: THE STORY OF THE FOWL AND THE LION

A lion and a fowl tried their wits against each other (*ali* past of the verb 'to be,' *ki-gema* reciprocal of *-gema* 'try') a long time ago. The lion roared at about daybreak (*gingu*) and the fowl crowed 'Konkolegu.' The lion said 'Who is making himself like me.' And the bird called Dudui was sent to see the person who was challenging him 'He is great as who?' The bird went and met a cock and said 'Was it you who imitated Mnawika?' (*Mnawika*, nickname of lion.) The cock said 'Yes it was I.' And it said 'Who are you as great as?' 'Go and say, great as an elephant, and his name is Sumba Mnaluli' (*Sumba Mnaluli*, nickname of cock). Then the Dudui went and said that, and said 'His name is Sumbu Mnaluli, he is as great as an elephant.' The lion said 'Take this hair from the mane on my neck and go and say 'Msengi Mnawika the

roarer afar' (*Msengi Mnawika*, nickname of lion). And he took, and the cock was given the hair and he took it and climbed on to the top of the house and he plucked a feather from his neck and said 'Take my greetings to the lion.' And he took and (the lion) looked and plucked a long one from the mane on his head. And the Dudui was told 'Take this to him and tell him, 'He has strength, a hundred.' And it was taken and Sumbu (the cock) looked. And the cock plucked that day a long feather from his tail. It was taken to the lion and he looked only (and was silent) and he went and did not speak, and he went and slept and he considered, and he said 'Sumbu (the cock) is great as an elephant, I shall go to know him.' And he went and waited all night, and next morning very early, the cock climbed on to the top of the house and crowed '*Nene Sumbu Mnanuli*' (I am Sumbu Mnanuli—this is crowed by the teller of the story, in imitation of a cock crowing). The lion looked at the house and said 'Truly he is great.' And he ran away, but people saw him and killed him.

II. *KALUSIMU KA LUGANO*

Msungu ali ukulima nzugu ku'mbuga sunga nazikonda mpunda nwilia. Msungu nuza nwagana nzugu ndige nuga 'Wani ukulia nzugu zane?' Nigulo yoi intondo turuturu, nuga 'Kantunge nantende.' Sunga nuza mpunda`nwikulilia 'Talami talami ngombe zaporoka.' Masalu nwishemula, msungu numanka, nugopa, numanka wenda kukaa, numuila wisheo, nuga 'Muntu ukulia nzugu aza ntungile washemulanga lukundi, nogopa numanka, ipa kutendei mgosha wane?' Mgosha nuga 'Tulya, tendekye masala nukumugwila.' Welu nuzipia kota liza migulu zi muntu, mbelele zi muntu, nitue nishanga numtungulia kina mnanso nulipaka ntia turu, nutwala ku'mgunda waki nzugu nwika nulega. Mpindi nuza Mnangala nuga 'Talami talami, ngombe zaporoka.' Kota nalidu. Sunga nusugamila pipe, mpunda nuga 'Mnanso, uwe, nikikukua.' Nuamba nu mbelele nukamantila, nuga 'Leka isasila, uwe ndekela.' Nalidu. Nuamba nu mkono mua nukamantila, nuga 'Nukakusamba.' Nusamba mgulu umwi nukamantila, samba nu mua nukamantila, nuga, 'Nikukulume.' Nukamantila ni mino turu nukatala. Mdau aporoka asungu atili napika namwagana mpunda mnangala nauga 'Nantende tuyu nukilia nzugu zitu.' Mkola nzugu nuga 'Leti ikome numkue.' Iya nauga 'Leka kumkua kumgwile mpanga kutwale kukaa wendi telekwa numoto.' Namugwila namtunga ndigi nauga 'To mlisha mtwale kukaa mwile mguru wako wamteleke na kwaza waluge ugali kumlie kina walilile nzugu zitu, 'Numsola numlongolya kukaa naigenda kua, mpunda nuga,' Namlisha uwe umuilwe mbi ni amau ako?' 'Nimwilwe uwe wenda telekwa nu mguru wane.' Mnangala nuga 'Sikawigulye kisa.' 'Aza augileli?'

Nuga 'Azaaugile iti.' 'Ee.' 'Twala mgulu wako wandugile ugali kwikisiga nu mwana.' Mlisha nuga 'Sika yoi, wilongopa.' Mpunda nuga 'Kweni kwendi kolya.' Mlisha nula kuli, nuga 'Yakonda gwa kweni sikazanigulye kisa.' Naenda kukaa, numwila yoi, mguli nuluga ugali numpela nulia naikisiga nu mwana, sunga naigona nakumbwa ntila imwi nagona ndoro. Naza iya nina nauga 'Leti gwa inama ya Mnangala, walile na nguru nzugu zitu.' Mguli nuga 'I i mlisha uyo siwaza ne, wambwila mlugile ugali isige nu mwana, ipa tuyo igonile ensi.' Mpunda nwigulye nina nuga 'Leti pini, numkue.' Punda numanka palumwi nu mwana, yaikinga 'Watwala nu mwana witu.' Nwenda m'kilimbili nwigilya mwana uyo nupuna kunzi wikumba ntila. Aza aone migulu m'kilimbili auga 'Tuyu, mnawingila, leti miolo kusimbe, mwana witu tuyu ipa pana wamuika.' Asimba sunga akumkina mwana wao, aona migali mu'molo auga 'Tiyi migali, wakia, kweni kumsole mwana witu.' Akunukula ntila lamanka lampunda, ailila 'I i i i kwamulaga mwana witu.' Ashoka asimbulaga agana wakia. Atwala kukaa amuika mwana wao. Mpunda wendi, sikaamuona. Mwana wao wakia, ni nzugu zao nalilia, nalyakapa turu. Yoi kalusimu yane yasila.

II. A WONDERFUL STORY

A woman cultivated some ground-nuts on a plain, until they flourished, and a hare ate them. The woman came and found the ground-nuts eaten and said 'Who eats my ground-nuts?' In the evening it was the same, every day, and she said 'To-day I will spy (keep watch).' Then the hare came crying 'Run, run, the cattle are coming.' And he threw up the sand and the woman ran away, she was afraid, and ran and went to the village and told her husband, and said 'A person is eating the ground-nuts, I watched and he kicked up a dust and I was afraid and ran away. Now what shall we do, my husband?' The man said 'Wait I shall make a plan (make wits) to catch him.' Next morning he prepared a nice pole, legs like a person, breasts like a person, and he dressed with beads like a young girl and he smeared it all with bird-lime and he took it to the garden of ground-nuts and placed it and came away. In the evening the hare came and said 'Run, run, the cattle are coming.' The pole was silent. Then he drew near and the hare said 'Little girl you, I shall beat you.' And he seized the breasts and stuck, and said 'Leave off your foolishness, leave go of me.' Silence. And he struck with his other hand and it stuck, and he said 'I shall kick you.' And he kicked with one leg and it stuck, and he kicked with the other and it stuck, and he said 'I shall bite you.' And he stuck with all his teeth and was tired (i.e. gave in, or was beaten). The next morning there came only

women and they arrived and found the hare and said 'The person who eats our ground-nuts, here he is.' The owner of the ground-nuts said 'Bring a stick and I will beat him.' The others said 'Don't beat him, let us catch him alive, let us send him to the village to be cooked with fire.' So they caught him and fastened him with rope and said 'Here boy, take him to the village and tell your sister to cook him, and when we come let her cook 'ugali' (food) to eat with him, because he has eaten our ground-nuts.' And he took him and took him to the village, and he went a distance and the hare said 'You boy, what were you told by your mothers?' 'I was told you go to be cooked by my sister.' The hare said 'You did not hear properly.' 'What did they say?' He said 'They said this.' 'Well?' 'Take him to your sister that she may cook for him 'ugali' and he may play together with the child.' The boy said 'It was not that, you tell lies.' The hare said 'Go, go and ask.' The boy looked back far (they were far off) and he said 'Very well, never mind, let us go, I did not hear properly.' And they went to the village and he told her that, and the sister cooked food and gave him and he ate, and played together with the child till they lay down and was covered with a hide (or cloth) and they slept. Then the mothers came and said 'Very well, bring the meat of the hare, he has eaten with strength our ground-nuts.' The sister said 'I say, that boy, he did not come to me, he told me to cook food for him and let him play with the child, and now there he is, they sleep together.' The hare heard the mother say 'Bring a big stick and I will beat him.' And the hare ran away together with the child and they chased him (*yaikinga*—from *ku-inga* reciprocal *-kinga*). 'He takes our child.' And he went to an ant-hill and put in the child and himself, he came out and covered himself with the cloth. They came and saw legs in the ant-hill and said 'Here he is, he has gone inside, bring pointed sticks and let us dig, our child is there where he put him' (thinking that the child was covered with the cloth). And they dug till they pierced their child and they saw the blood on the pointed stick and said 'Here is blood, he is dead, let us go and take our child.' And they uncovered the cloth and that rascal of a hare ran away. (Note here the hare is put in the 13th class—i.e. the monster class). And they cried '*I!i!i!i!* we have killed our child.' And they returned and dug and found he was dead. They took him to the village and buried their child. The hare went, they did not see him. Their child was dead, and their ground-nuts were eaten, they missed both. Thus, my story is finished.

III. KALUSIMU YAKI KIALI NU SHEO KUMBA

Kiali ali itite mluna mkima, nusukya nuga 'Twali kwaki mau.' Kiali numuila sheo wakwe 'Mtwale mlamui wako kwaki mau witu.'

Kumba nugomba nuga 'Kweni nikutwale.' Nulongola nipika muwi numulaga nudumula mgulu mlundi umwi nushoka kukaa, nuzipia kalusumbi, kina walongola ku'milimo, mkima numlekela mwana mnino wa ku'mgongo, pana nuilila mwana, nusola kalusumbi nuikua.

'Udi udi di ntambalilyo'

'Kumba mlamuane'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Nutema kalundi'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Nugela pumbulilyo, pumbulilyo la mwana' 'Di ntambalilyo'

'Mwana waki Kiali'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Kiali mnuna wane'

'Di ntambalilyo'

Yakonda.

Lutondo lumwi nulongola ku'lombo kuli kuwi tondo zitano, kuna kunanuma mwana numulema unina kwilila nakiuga 'Mau di tando.' Nina nuga 'Mwana uyu wilila wilagila kwitandi yani? kweni kumtwale kumulae kina wilila.' Nutwalwa nakalagila kumukono, naona kalusumbi nate-nia nakilila.

'Udi udi di ntambalilyo'

'Kumba mlamuane'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Nutema kalundi'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Nugela pumbulilyo, pumbulilyo la mwana' 'Di ntambalilyo'

'Mwana waki Kiali'

'Di ntambalilyo'

'Kiali mnuna wane'

'Di ntambalilyo'

Yakonda.

Kiali nuga 'Kusina! mgosha uyu siumpikilye mnino wane kwaki mau.' Nusukya wakilongola kwaki nina. Nulongola. Wisheo ku'lombo nkolo nimana nupoloka waza kukaa nwitana 'Kiali.' Nupuna nuulya nuga 'Wenda.' Nukila kwitando wilaa lusumbi, nulya, nuga 'Wenda muntu uyu.' Namanka intambo, numwagana mkombi utite konko kulu mu'mlundi, nukolia 'Mama.' 'Ii?' 'Monelia Kiali mnasitu?' Mkombi nuga 'Nzuu, upipe konko yane, paso ukumwila mnanshani.' Nwipipa, sunga nupunia komango igue 'Ambuka! mnanshani wakilile kali.' Numanka nuguma komaango, sunga numwagana, Kumba nuga 'Ima, kizume.' Kiali nuima, Kumba nuga 'Kiali, Nikukwitilia simba.' Kiali nuga 'Ine, kukwitilia kua.' 'Simba mulumile kuli, nzuu mtale.' Nulumila kuli lugendo la tondo zitatatu. Kiali nuga 'Kua, zi mtambi gulu, nzuu mtwale. Kua mtambi gulu, nzuu mtwale.' Nitanduka nimpankula kutui umwi, nwiyimba na mgosha kina ikali, nilumila simba niturumila ya tondo zibili. Nwimba na mkima nuga 'Kua mtambi gulu, nzuu mtwale.' Nitanduka nilegya mikono ibili na kutui umwi. Nwimba na

mgosha, simba nilumila kuli tondo lumwi. Na mkima nuimba, nitwalwa migulu turu, nusaga yoi, naluula nululi nwimba, simba nilumila kuli. Nwimba Kiali 'Kua mtambi gulu, nzuu mtwale.' Numaliligwa turu. Yakonda.

Kiali wampapa mwana walongola naitagana ni twiga, twiga nuga 'Kiali, kwigeme nguru.' Nuga 'Tulya, nimkopye mwana ntili.' Numkopya lukui nalusaga, ali utite mbua, numipela, nimalila intili, nuga 'Nzuu ikikwikila.' 'Ee?' Naigwila nikatuligwa twiga, nuga 'Mbukila.' Kiali nuuka nukatuligwa Kiali 'Twiga, mbukila.' Nusita. 'Masimbiri, siko, yamba lasika ku'nguru.' 'Ngan'gi.' Nuukilwa nulongola nugela mzila naitagana ni nungu, nungu nikolia 'Kiali, ulunzipi tite nu mwana?' Nuga 'Kwaki mau.' 'Mwikye mwana kwigeme inguru.' Numwikya kanumukopye mwana ntili, mwana nukopa ntili, Kiali nuga 'Mnambwa, nzala yakola ni nene.' Kakope lukui la mwana wane. Yakonda, igwila yakatuligwa nungu 'Mbukila.' Wauka, naigwila kangu, nakatuligwa Kiali, nuga 'Mbukila.' Nusita, numita mbua 'Masimbiri, siko, yamba lasika ku'nguru, ngangi.' Mbua niuga 'Ino aza-unimile intili, ulagwa.' Sunga numaligwa inguru, nusomekelwa makingi nugumulwa mukiga. Nungu numpapa mwana nulongola kwaki nina waki Kiali, nupika nukoligwa 'Kiali, watendilei imamba mu'mwili turu?' Nuga 'Ali nalualulie upele zitandu.' Kusina! mwana waki Kiali ali uonie pana unina ali muike, mwana uyu nupikila kwaki nina kulu, mkombi, nupegwa upemba nusita kwishia, pana alege nwishia nwiylimba 'Kiali, nungu yamulile mzila, wiyuu, nungu yamulile m'zila, wiyuu, nungu yamulile m'zila, wiyuu, nungu yamulile m'zila, nika kumlia nikilumilia kina muntu witombi hati i i, nungu yamulile m'zila.'

Lutondo lumwi nuilwa unina kulu malisha, 'Mama, mzukulu wako ukwimba mwimbo muza, gaile Kiali nungu yamulile m'zila.' Nuga 'Mwilingo'pa ana inye.'

Lutondo lumwi numpela upemba nuga 'To, mzukulu wane, ukusie ine nunzie kuwi tena nkui.' Nuga 'Ale mama.' Mkombi nushoka nwipisa ku'mbele nuona antu alega turuturu nusola upemba nwisia nuimba 'Kiali, nungu yamulile m'zila, wiyuu, nungu yamulile m'zila, umau, nungu yamulile m'zila, nikakumlia nikilumilia kina muntu witumbi hati i i i, nungu yamulile m'zila.' Mkombi nuswekuka nuga 'Si, mzukulu wane wazile pakali nusita kukuila waliylimba niki?' Nuga 'Mama ali ngopile.' 'Ipa uonie pana wili ukutwale?' Nuga 'Ee, monie.' 'Kutwale mdau.' 'Aa, ine tumililia kisagalu, ntogolo, mlambi, ni isamata, nikumtwala pana Kiali wili.' Nuzipililigwa turu intu nutile. Mdau nzia nalongola naenda pana ali mgumile mu'kigaa, nuga 'Mwamu.' Mkombi uwitana

'Kiali.' 'Yani.' 'Mumu ukitendai?' 'Ali numugumile ni nungu.' 'Punagwa.' 'Nalemilwe kwipuna.' Nasola likota 'Amba kurute.' Nua- mba nulutwa nupunigwa nwilegeligwa makingi nutwalwa kukaa nipiswa kwi'tando. Nungu niilwa 'Kiali, pela kikila kwi'tando yazitolwa.' 'Ale.' Uyu Kiali na muntu nwikurugilagigwa ntili sunga nukama nateleka ntulu ningi zigizigi nalegia mu'moto nauga 'Uwe Kiali, nzuu wikalanse ipa pana ndiri kukupunde.' Ndiri nambikwa mwilungu nukalanza namalegia ndiri nwigumila mu'moto nupuna uyu Kiali, nuga 'Pia.' Naliuga 'Kita- letale nalilelile ugali waki noko.' Nukia. Namtimila mumo mwi'lungu.

Mdau naagana lupuza lwalia, nuga 'Lupuza lwalia.' Kola naluga 'I lupuza lwalia.' 'I lwilulania.' 'I lwilulania.' Yakonda. Tanga lapia, naenda 'I tanga lapia.' 'I tanga lapia.' 'I lilulania.' 'I lilulania.' Nauga 'Leti ipopo kulitema.' Ni kola naliuga yoi. Nusola nutema numilwa naliimila turu antu a m'si nusaga mkima umwi tite yimbi ali wipusilile mwipulilo. Yakonda, lutondo lwa kutuga, mwana mdaa ali Mlilua, nuga m'daa 'Mau.' Nina nwitika 'Yani?'

(Here follows an obscene argument between the child in the womb and its mother).

Nupunila pi'noku puso ! Nukolia 'Antu ilipi?' Nina nuga 'Leka, lintu liamilile.' 'Naonie mau, m'daa, ipa nakienda tianilua kuzile kilasa.' Nina nuga 'Manane, leka.' 'Aa.' Nalienda tianilwa nalishoka nalileta pandi. Mau, nusita 'Simonye.' 'Nalimala intu, inama, manane.' Nulaga simba, nzoka, noni, mlula, turu, nina nwisita du.

Lutondo lumwi naiona lioga, Mlilua nuguma songa naliuga 'Lenda kukaa uzenge ikungu mpungati ni nene, nizenga mpungati yaso wikondia.' Nwenda nuzenga ikungu mpungati ndilo lazenga. Nalikondia naitula nina nuiyimba 'Manane, guma makingi, Kiali gana makingi, isitiguma natende kwimaliligwa, nantende uli guma makingi, kiali gana makingi.'

Nalimaligwa inguru lintu ili, naliuga, 'Uwe, Mlilua, nwakitula tulila ku'mgongo, ku'ndaa leka tulila, mikia magosha mako.' Nugomba, naliulagwa nutulila ku'mgongo napuna ngombe, mbuli, kuku turuturu naliiumile nusaga mkombi umwi mtema kutui, mkombi nuga 'Mkizi, watema niki?' 'Mama aza wili ibi.' Mkombi nwenga ntulu numwitila numuloga nukia Mlilua.

Kalusimu kaula.

III. THE STORY OF KIALI AND HER HUSBAND KUMBA

Kiali had a sister, and she became tired of the place and said 'Take me to my mother.' Kiali told her husband 'Take your sister-in-law to our mother.' Kumba consented and said 'Let us go, I will take you.' And they went and arrived at the forest and he killed her and cut the shin off the leg and returned to the house, and made a *kalusumbi* (a sort of one stringed fiddle) so that if they go to work and the woman leaves to him the small child (*kumgongo*=carried on the back) if the child cries he takes the *kalusumbi* and plays it: (The following is a song and chorus) 'Udi udi di ntambalilyo (*udi udi di* imitates the sound of the *kalusumbi*, *ntambalilyo* refers to the shin of the woman, *kutambalilya*=to stretch the leg).

' Kumba, my brother-in law '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' And cut the shin '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' And appeared an amusement, an amusement of the child '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' The child of Kiali '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' Kiali my sister '	' Di ntambalilyo '

Finished.

One day they went to a hunt in the forest five days away, and meanwhile the child tired out the mother with crying and saying 'Mother, *di*, in the inner room.' The mother said 'This child, why does it cry and point to the inner room? Let us go and take him that he may show us what he cries for.' And he was taken and he showed with his arm and they saw the *Kalusumbi* and touched it and it said :—

' Udi udi di ntambalilyo '	
' Kumba, my brother-in-law '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' And cut the shin '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' And made it to be an amusement, an amusement of the child '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' The child of Kiali '	' Di ntambalilyo '
' Kiali my sister '	' Di ntambalilyo '

Finished.

Then Kiali said 'Well I never! (*Kusina*, exclamation of surprise) that man did not take my little sister to the mother's.' And she became tired (i.e. 'fed up') and went to the mother's. And she went. (Part of the tale is omitted here as being needlessly obscene). Her husband at the

hunt in his heart knew and came away and came to the house and called 'Kiali.' And he came out, and missed her, and said 'She has gone.' He passed into the inner room to look for the *Kalusumbi* and missed it and said 'This person has gone.' And he ran quickly and met an old woman who had a large sore on her shin, and he said 'Mother.' 'Well?' 'Have you seen Kiali by wife?' The old woman replied 'Come, suck my sore then you will be told of your wife.' So he sucked it till out came a grinding stone (*Komango igue*, the small stone used for grinding tobacco into snuff on top of a larger stone). 'Go quickly, your wife passed some time ago.' And he ran and threw the stone, until he met her, and Kumba said 'Stand, let us test each other' (*Kuzuma*, to call down powers as a test of who has done wrong). And Kiali stood and Kumba said 'Kiali, I call to you the lion.' Kiali said 'I call to you lightning.' 'Lion, who roars far off, come and take her.' And it roared far off, a journey of three days. Kiali said 'Lightning, creeper in the air, come and take him, Lightning, creeper in the air, come and take him.' And it split and took from him one ear. And the man sang as before and the lion roared a distance of two days. Then the woman said 'Lightning creeper in the air, come and take him.' And it split and took two arms and one ear. And the man sang, and the lion roared a distance of one day. And the woman sang, and he was taken all his legs and was left thus and then his voice sang, and the lion roared far off. Then Kiali sang 'Lightning creeper of the air, come and take him.' And he was taken entirely. Finished.

Then Kiali took up her child and went and met with a giraffe, the giraffe said 'Kiali, let us try strength.' She said 'Wait, that I may give the child some porridge.' And she gave it porridge and a handful was left, and she had a dog, and she gave it to the dog and it finished the porridge, and she said 'Come, shall we get up?' 'Right.' And they caught hold of each other and the giraffe was put down, and it said 'Get up.' And Kiali got up and Kiali was put down, 'Giraffe, get up.' And it refused 'Masiimbiri (the name of the dog) *siko* (calling the dog to come) the scar sticks to the leg *ngangi*' (encouraging the dog to bite, imitates the dog seizing a bone.) And she got up and went on her way and turned round in the road and met with a porcupine, the porcupine asked 'Kiali, where are you going to with the child?' She said 'To my mother's.' 'Put down the child and let us try strength.' And she put down the child in order to give it some porridge, and the child drank the porridge, and Kiali said 'Dog, I myself am hungry.' And she drank the handful left by the child. Then they caught hold of each other and the Porcupine was put down. 'Get up,' and they got up and they caught hold of each other again and Kiali was put down and said 'Get up,' and it refused and she called the

dog 'Masimbiri, come here, the scar sticks to my leg seize it.' The dog said 'Just now you withheld from me the porridge—you may die (be killed).' Until her strength was finished and she was stuck with the spines and thrown into a hole. The porcupine took up the child and went to the mother of Kiali and she arrived and was asked 'Kiali, what are you doing with scars all over your body?' She said 'I was sick of the itch of small pox.' But (*kusina*, exclamation—"Behold" etc.) the child of Kiali had seen where its mother was placed. That child when it arrived at its grandmother's, the old woman, she was given millet and refused to grind it, when she was left to grind it she sang 'Kiali, the porcupine ate her in the road, mother, the porcupine ate her in the road, mother, the porcupine ate her in the road, and eating her growled like a person with hair—I say—the porcupine has eaten her in the road.'

One day the grandmother was told by the boys 'Mother, your grandchild sings a beautiful song, that the porcupine ate her in the road.' She said 'It's only lies, my children.'

One day she gave her millet and said 'Take, my grandchild, grind, I am going to the forest to cut firewood!' She said 'All right mother.' The old woman returned and hid herself behind and she saw all the people go and she took and ground and sang 'Kiali, the porcupine ate her in the road, mother, the porcupine ate her in the road, mother, the porcupine ate her in the road, and eating her growled like a person with hair—I say—the porcupine ate her in the road.'

Then the old woman came forward (became visible) and said 'Tut, my grandchild, you came a long time ago, why do you not stop singing?' She said 'Mother, I was afraid.' 'Now, you know where she is, will you take us?' She said 'Yes, I saw.' 'Take us tomorrow.' 'No, make for me (here she mentions the different ornaments made of beads worn by the people) Kisagalu ntogolo, Mlambi, and Isamata, and I shall take you where Kiali is.' And all the things were prepared and she wore them.

Next day they went, and went where she was thrown in the hole, and said 'In here.' Then the old woman called 'Kiali.' 'What?' 'What are you doing inside?' 'The porcupine threw me in.' 'Come out.' 'I am not able to come out.' And she took a stick. 'Take hold and we will pull.' And she took hold and was pulled and was brought out, and the spines were taken out of her and she was taken to the house and hidden in the inner room. And the porcupine was told 'Kiali, do not go into the inner room, you are about to be married' (That is, the porcupine was still called Kiali, and was forbidden to go into the inner room where the real Kiali was hidden, the excuse being that she was about to be married and

the ornaments etc. which she was not to see were kept in the inner room). She replied 'All right.' And Kiali, the person, porridge was made for her until she became strong, and they made much beer and put it on the fire, and said 'You Kiali, (the porcupine) come and sit here where the hide is, that we may dress you.' The hide was placed by the fireplace and she sat down, and the hide was taken away (pulled from under it) and she was thrown on the fire, and Kiali (the true one) came out and said 'Burn.' And it (the porcupine) said 'Never mind, I have eaten the food of your mother.'¹ And it died, and they buried it in the fire-place.

In the morning they found a pumpkin growing, and said 'A pumpkin is growing.' And it said 'I a pumpkin is growing.' (Whatever is said is supposed to be repeated by the pumpkin). 'I say, it imitates.' 'I say, it imitates.' Next. 'The vegetable is burning.' 'The vegetable is burning.' 'I say, it imitates.' 'I say, it imitates.' Then they said 'Bring an axe to cut it.' And it said just the same. Then they brought an axe and they were swallowed, and it swallowed all the people in the land except a woman who was with child who had hidden herself in some cave. On the day of giving birth the child in the womb, who was Mlilua, said, in the womb, 'Mother.' And the mother replied 'What?' (Here follows an obscene argument between the child in the womb and the mother on how it should be born.)

And it came forth from the navel—*poso*! (expressive of suddenness) and he asked 'Where are the people?' The mother said 'Leave off, a giant has swallowed them.' 'I saw, my mother, in the womb, now I shall go and forge (some weapon) and come and fight.' The mother said 'My son, do not.' 'No.' And he went and forged and returned and brought a grass-hopper (the boy now is supposed to be searching for the giant and brings all sorts of animals etc. to the mother to show her²). And the mother denied (said it was not) 'I don't know.' 'It has finished men and animals, my son.' And he killed lions, snakes, birds, foxes, everything; his mother just denied.

One day, when he found it bathing, Mlilua shot an arrow, and it said 'Go home and build seven huts and I, I shall build seven and thus it shall finish.' And he went and built seven and he (the giant) built. And he finished, and they began, and the mother sang 'My son, throw the spines, Kiali, hundred spines (refers to the spines of the porcupine)! If

(¹) For its meaning see note at end of the next story.

(²) Cf. an episode in the story of the "Sultan Majnun" in Stere, *Swahili Tales*, p. 255 et Seq.

you do not throw to-day we shall be finished completely, this to-day throw the spines, Kiali, hundred spines.'

And the strength of the giant was finished, and it said, 'You, Mlilua, when you begin to disembowel begin at the back, do not disembowel at the front or your men will die!' And he agreed, and he was killed, and he disembowelled from the back and there came forth, cattle, goats, fowls, everything which was swallowed, and there was left one old woman and he cut her ear, the old woman said 'Mkizi, what are you cutting?' (or Why do you cut?) 'Mother, where you were was a bad place.' The old woman made some beer and called him and bewitched him and Mlilua died.

The story is finished.

IV. *KALUSIMU WAKI MLILUA*

Kalusimu. Kaukile'ki? Mlilua.

Muntu ali ukutega noni nukugwilagia inoni turu. Lutondo lumwi mugwila kangaga numtuma mwana wakwe lina lakwe Mlilua 'Lenda ulilie indigi.' Numwagana kangaga mgwile, numtungwila numanka kangaga, nu sheo nupika nukolia 'Niki wamtungwila inoni?' Mwana nuga 'Utigile.' Yakonda, shee nushokelia indigi nutega naenda kukaa turu. Lutondo lumwi shee numuila Mlilua 'Kweni kwende kala mando kuwi, la, nzala kulu, kwize kulugila itiri.' Naenda muwi naagana mwando umwi upile mingi zigizigi, wishee nusesa inkingi ningi nwikoma mwando nukoma nupikia mu'kianya nuga 'Nankila mwanane.' Mlilua nunankila naikononta turu nu shee, sunga naisulia, shee nuga 'Mwanane nkatime nene ilingila pansi.' Nwitima nukula inkingi nugela mu'kati, mwana nukolia tata. Shee nuga 'Zatola mwanawane, kanende pansi nikishoke-lia zikame.' Nwenda pansi mwishokelela imando sunga nukondia, nutunga. Mlilua nuga 'Tata, pana aza ugile wishokelia inkingi.' Shee nuga 'Ine nalongola kukaa, ali ukumtungwila kangaga ali ukile yani? Mwite wikangaga wakwikye.' Mlilua nuilila:—

'Kangaga noni kulu, wani wakuponilie?' 'Shuzu pona.'

'Ponya nene.'

'Shuzu ponya.'

Nazipolola inoni turu ni nimu zenzi nazikila, nazandia kunguru ningi 'Mlilua witendai mu'mando?' Nuga 'Ali kwikala mando nu tata nundeka mwana-mwando, ali mumtungulile kangaga.' Kunguru niuga 'Putu nikukuaka.' Mlilua nuga 'A a ukingushya.' Kunguru niuga 'Tia mati.' Nutia mati nakila, Mlilua nuga 'Kila, monelia kangaga.' Nuga 'Kangaga namlekile kuli.' Mlilua nwilia imando nali masagile

numala, nwilia matumbi numala, nulia nkurukuru numala, kige numala, tila yakwe ga nulia, nwilila Mlilua :—

‘Kangaga noni kulu wani wakuponilie?’ ‘Shuzu pona.’

‘Ponya nene.’ ‘Shuzu ponya.’

Naziza nduru nazikolia Mlilua ‘Witendai mu’mwando?’ Nuga ‘Ali kwikala mando nu tata nundeka mnamwando, ali mtungulile kangaga, ali ukutega ndigi.’ Mkulu wa nduru nuga ‘Nzuu nukwikye.’ Nutia mati namakila, nuga ‘Lenda, mgongo wako mtelele nikigua.’ Nukolia ‘Kangaga wilipi?’ Niuga ‘Wili kuli.’ Nuiyimba :—

‘Kangaga noni kulu, wani wakuponilie?’ ‘Shuzu pona.’

‘Ponya nene.’ ‘Shuzu ponya.’

Naziza mbogo, mukolia ‘Kangaga pi?’ ‘Wili kuli kunuma, nzuu tima m’napembe.’ Nuga ‘Wishoma.’ Nazikila, naziza nzogu nukolia ‘Kangaga pi?’ ‘Kuli kunuma.’ ‘Tima mnamwane.’ ‘Wimbulaga, kila lenda.’ Naziza nkolongo nukolia ‘Pi wi kangaga?’ Nazuga ‘Wili kuli, tima mnapembe zane.’ ‘Wishoma ba.’ Naziza puku nukolia ‘Pi kangaga?’ Nuga ‘Kuli, tima munu.’ ‘A a kila.’ Zapika twiga wakolia ‘Pi kangaga?’ Nuga ‘Kuli, tima mnakingo yane.’ ‘A a ukitunia nigua, lendi.’ Nazipika ipugi nukolia ‘Pi wi kangaga?’ Nazuga ‘Wili kuli.’ Turuturu nazikila, inoni po, ni nama za mwi po, nipoloka nengu noni, nukolia ‘Kangaga wilipi?’ Nuga ‘Kangaga tutyu papapa aza nimlekile pananuma.’ ‘Kila nengu.’ Nwilila Mlilua :—

‘Kangaga noni kulu wani wakuponilie?’ ‘Shuzu pona.’

‘Ponya nene.’ ‘Shuzu ponya.’

Wapika wikangaga ‘Mlilua kauwe-yo.’ ‘Ee.’ ‘Witendai mu’mwando.’ ‘Ali kunu tata, ali kwikononta mando, ali nzala, ali mtungulile kangaga, liona nundue nuaze wikangaga wakutungwile.’ Kangaga nuga ‘Ee, naza musuamua, tia mati.’ Nutia mati nuaka ‘Isure uwe nu mkola.’ Nusula, numuaka, ali mlongolya mu’mwakwe nukumkulugulia ntili sunga nukama, nuga ‘Kugeme nguru.’ Naigwila nakatuligwa Mlilua nilua ‘Wikali, mpepele, siwalagina.’ Nuga kangaga ‘Lia zigizigi ukame.’ Nuwilia sunga nukama, naigwila nantende nukatuligwa wikangaga, nu-muwila ‘Nwakindia wize uwindia makupa wiyika kisa, lia intonge uzilione uwe. Wize witala nulia turu inama, nuwitula makupa.’ Tula limwi, ngombe nazimanka, tula mbuli, nkolo, azangu, kuku, antu, noni, turu intu, nuzenga kakaa kakwe nukiziita noni ‘Kunguru, kanga nukutume kukaa, kwaki mau, wiyugai?’ ‘Gwegwe.’ ‘Totoma lenda.’ Turu noni nuzita sikanazikumloela, nimita noni lina Shunta ‘Ee.’ ‘Kanga nukutume kukaa, nlunzye yugai?’ Niuga ‘Nuziyuga, Chetu, chetu, namuonie

Mlilua, nu ngombe zakwe, kinantinindi, ati chetu chetu.' (Chorus) 'Chetu ati, chetu ati, chetu ati.'

Ali mwaganila nina alitite ni kilaa, nimba, nigumila mu'luwala, nilongola kwaki Mlilua niuga 'Namwagana umau wako wikomanga luwala.' Nuza wishee, mkima numula, 'Yaza noni shunta, yauga, 'namwone Mlilua nu ngombe zakwe kinantinindi.' Sheo nuga 'Leka, kwintenelia ikolo.' 'Tai tai sika ulongo.' Mdau nukala wishee tinda tumbati, niza, nimba kina ikwimba 'Chetu namuonie Mlilua nu ngombe zakwe.' Nigumila kilaa m'tumbati. Shee nuga 'Ka, katai agosi.' Niza nu mdau nzia niuga 'Simiki ntulu, mdau Mlilua wizile.' Nasimika. Niza kangi 'Teleki ntulu, mdau Mlilua wizile.' Nateleka, nidila tondo zitatu, niza niuga 'Engi, engi, ntulu, mdau Mlilua wizile.' Mpindi Mlilua wizile naenga.

Mdau nawela nunakila msumbati wikopo, nuona lukundi nuga 'Tulo lukundi lipolikile.' Antu nauga 'Wilongo kikopo! lipitile.' Nakatungo nuona antu turu tai ntulo lukundi lwapoloka naigya noni panaiyimba niuga:—

'Lukundi nduru enda ngombe kwamuonei Mlilua.'

	'Suli sunsu.'
'Ni mbuli zakwe'	'Suli sunsu.'
'Ni kuku zakwe'	'Suli sunsu.'
'Ni ndogwi zakwe'	'Suli sunsu.'
'Ni antu akwe'	'Suli sunsu.'
'Ni zangu zakwe'	'Suli sunsu.'

Sunga nupika pakaa nupukila pikota matengo nutwalilwa papo, naikilamukia nushee ni ntulu niletelwa papo, nawila mpindi nwingila mu'pongola nulagilwa numba ya kugona naikilamukia nu nina turu nu shee. 'Mwanawane kawaza.' 'Ee.' 'Nsau wapunia pi?' Nuga 'Ninzile kuko kina ali nili, ipa, mau na tata, mdau nikumlila nziku nankulu, pana ali nalegile.' Mdau nawela nutemia nakulu, Mlilua nusola gue liza gurunzile nuumbila uginu mu'komango nuasia, nipia, nuga 'Tata ansamanga, uginu wishila.' Uwansama, naligumila, nipagama pa kilakala, nuga 'Manane, wambulaga.' 'Pia.' 'Kintalentale nalile-lile ugali waki noko.' Nukia shee.

Mlilua wa mtemi m'si miaso.

IV. THE STORY OF MLILUA

A story. How does it go? Mlilua.

A man trapped birds and was accustomed to catch many birds. One day he caught a Kangaga and sent his child whose name was Mlilua 'Go

and tend the traps.' And he found a *Kangaga* trapped and he released it and the *Kangaga* ran away. And the father arrived and he asked 'Why have you released the bird?' The son replied 'It ran away.' The father put back the trap and set it and they both went to the house.

One day the father said to Mlilua 'Come, let us go and gather calabashes in the forest, behold, great hunger, let us go and make porridge!' They went into the forest and came across one Baobab tree bearing a great abundance (of fruit); the father cut a lot of pegs and stuck them in the baobab tree and stuck them till he arrived at the top and said 'Climb up my son.' And Mlilua climbed up and knocked down a lot with the father; when there was a lot, the father said 'I am going down to collect below.' And he went down and pulled out the pegs till he reached the middle, and the son asked the father (the reason). The father said 'They are loose my child I go down and will return and tighten them.' He went down and collected the calabashes till they were finished, and he fastened them. Mlilua said 'Father, but you said that you would return the pegs.' The father said, I am going to the house, you released the *Kangaga*. What were you told? (*kuila*, to be told) Call the *Kangaga*, let him get you down.' Mlilua cried:—

'*Kangaga*, great bird, who saved you? '*Shuzu*, save.'

'Save me.' '*Shuzu*, save.'

(This is a song with the refrain *Shuzu*:—the teller of the story does not know the meaning of this word but thought it meant—in like manner: i.e. Who saved you, in like manner save (me).

And there came forth many birds and all the animals of the land (*туру zensi* and *туру ensi*=all. Probably made from *туру*, all—*za nsi*, of the land). And they passed by, and many crows were the first 'Mlilua, what are you doing in the baobab tree?' He said 'We were gathering calabashes with father, and he left me in the baobab tree, I released the *kangaga*' (*mwa-na-mwando* appears to mean=here in the baboab. See the notes on *na*).

The crow said 'Jump and I shall catch you.' Mlilua said 'No, You will let me fall.' The crow said 'Spit.' (So that he might see where the spittle fell and so be able to judge where to stand to catch him). And he spat and it passed. Mlilua said 'Pass, have you seen the *kangaga*?' And he said 'I left the *kangaga* yonder.' Mlilua ate the calabashes that were left and finished them, he ate his hair and finished it, he ate his finger nails and finished them, his eyelashes and finished them, his clothes of hide, absolutely he finished and ate, and Mlilua cried:—

'*Kangaga* great bird, who saved you?' 'In like manner save.'
'Save me.' 'In like manner save.'

And zebra came and they asked Mlilua 'What are you doing in the baobab tree?' He said 'We were gathering calabashes with father, and he left me in the baobab tree, I released the *kangaga* which was caught in the trap.' The chief zebra said 'Come I will catch you.' And he spat and it passed, and he said 'Go on, your back is slippery I shall fall.' And he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And he said 'He is over yonder' And he sang :—

'*Kangaga* great bird, who saved you?' 'In like manner save.'
'Save me.' 'In like manner save me.'

And some buffalo came, and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' 'He is yonder, behind, come descend on my horns.' He said 'They pierce.' And they passed. And elephants came and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' 'Yonder behind.' 'Descend on my back.' 'You will kill me, pass on go.' And some buck came and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And they said 'He is yonder, descend on my horns.' 'No, they pierce.' And some eland came and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And he said 'Yonder, descend on me.' 'No, pass on.' And some giraffe came and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And he said 'Yonder, descend on my neck.' 'No, You will bend down and I shall fall, go on.' Then the *ipugi* (sort of bird) came and he asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And they replied 'He is yonder.' And every one passed, all the birds, and all the animals of the forest, and then came out the *Nengu* bird; and Mlilua asked 'Where is the *kangaga*?' And he said 'The *kangaga* is near, I left him behind.' 'Pass on, *Nengu*.' And Mlilua cried :—

'*Kangaga*, great bird, who saved you?' 'In like manner save.'
'Save me.' 'In like manner save.'

The *kangaga* arrived 'Mlilua, is it you?' 'Yes.' What are you doing in the baobab tree?' 'We were gathering fruit and my father, we were knocking down calabashes, we were hungry, I released the *kangaga*, and now you have come *kangaga*, he who released you.' The *kaganga* said 'Yes, I have come friend, spit.' And he spat and he caught it. 'Let yourself go.' And he let himself go, and he caught him and he took him to his place and made for him some porridge till he become strong and he said 'Let us test strength.' And they caught hold of each other Mlilua was put down and was told 'Not yet, you are still light, you have not yet become fat.' The *kangaga* said 'Eat a lot that you may become strong.' And he ate till he became strong and they caught hold of

each other and to-day the *kangaga* was put down, and he told him 'When you come to eat me, you come and eat me, the bones place aside with care, eat the lump that you see,' and he cut and ate all the flesh and he broke the bones. He broke (or crushed) one, and oxen ran out, he broke others and goats, sheep, cats, fowls, people, birds, everything came out, and he built a small place and he called the birds. 'Crow, if I send you to my mother's place what will you say?' '*Gwe gwe.*' 'Go out, go.' And he called all the birds but there were none that pleased him, and he called a bird called the *Shunta*. 'Yes.' 'If I send you home, what will you go and say?' And he said 'We shall say, *Chetu chetu* I have seen Mlilua and his cattle, *kinantinindi*, *ati chetu chetu* (Chorus—*Chetu ati*, *chetu ati*, *chetu ati*).

And he met the mother and she had some butter, and he sang, and upset the butter on a grinding-stone, and he went his way to Mlilua and said 'I met your mother beating on a grinding-stone!' The father came, and the woman told him 'There came a bird, the *shunta*, and it said 'I have seen Mlilua and his cattle, *kinantinindi*.' The father said 'Don't startle my heart' (*Leka*—verb, "to leave" is used in forming the negative imperative—*Leka kwintanelia*, Do not, or leave *ku-ni-tenelia*—to me startle). 'It is true and not a lie.'

The next day the father was sitting and grinding snuff and it came and sang just as it sang before '*Chetu* I have seen Mlilua and his cattle.' And it upset the butter into the tobacco. Then the father said 'I say you fellows, it is true'; and he came the day after and said 'Prepare beer, tomorrow Mlilua comes.' And they prepared beer. And he came again 'Cook beer, tomorrow Mlilua comes.' And they cooked, and it remained three days and the bird came and said 'Stir up, stir up the beer, tomorrow Mlilua comes.' In the afternoon Mlilua came and they stirred up (the beer).

Next morning, a one-eyed youth climbed up and saw dust and said 'Yonder dust is coming.' People said 'You are a liar, One-eye, you are deceived.' After a while the people saw truly dust coming yonder and they heard the bird singing, saying :

(This is a song, with chorus sung by those listening to the story).

'All the dust, and zebra the cattle go, we have seen Mlilua.' '*Suli sunsu.*'

'And his goats'	' <i>Suli sunsu.</i> '
'And his fowls'	' <i>Suli sunsu.</i> '
'And his donkeys'	' <i>Suli sunsu.</i> '

‘ And his people ’ ‘ *Suli sunsu.* ’
 ‘ And his cats ’ ‘ *Suli sunsu.* ’

Then they arrived at the house, and came to a tree, and seats were brought there and he greeted his father and beer was brought there, and in the afternoon he went into the cattle-pen and was shown a house in which to sleep and he greeted his mothers and fathers.

‘ My son you have come. ’ ‘ Yes. ’ ‘ These riches, where did you get them ? ’ And he said ‘ They come from there where I was, now, mother and father, tomorrow, we shall eat a large castrated bull, because I had left. ’ Next morning he caused a big one to be cut up. Mlilua took a nice round stone and put it inside some fat and roasted it on a grinding stone till it was very hot, and said ‘ Father, open your mouth wide, the fat is finished. ’ And the father opened his mouth, and he threw it in, and it stuck at his throat and he said ‘ My son, you have killed me. ’ ‘ Burn. ’ ‘ Never mind, I have eaten the food of your mother ! ’

And the father died.* Mlilua became the chief of their land.

Notes : ‘ *Kintalentale nalilelile ugali waki noko* ’ = ‘ Never mind I have eaten the food of your mother. ’ This appears to be a proverbial saying, and occurs in a number of tales—it seems to mean ‘ At any rate, even if I am killed now, I have had something, I have had a run for my money—I have eaten the food of the mother. ’

Shuzu poaa etc. ‘ *Shuzu* ’ = a beer strainer, but in the tale the teller thought it meant ‘ in like manner. ’

Suli sunsu—not translated. *Sunsu* may be an abbreviation for ‘ *masunsu* ’—milk, the idea being that, seeing all the cattle of Mlilua, the people thought of the milk which would be obtained !

V. *KALUSIMU WAKI KIALU NU MNANSO KIALU*

Kalusimu kali. Kaukile’ki ? Mkombi nu Mnanso.

Mama wa Kialu nupembeligwa nu mnanso wa Kialu lina ali Shamba. Mkombi alutite miso, Shamba ali mpoku ali mgila miso. Numwagana mkombi wa Kialu numuila ‘ Mama, mpela miso mako niyenda kukuletele inama ni makupa. ’ Nugomba mkombi numpela mnanso naliyendela lukulu nusita kwishoka. Naakumduma izukulu ni ana akwe, naimba :—

*This trick is in many tales played by the hare on the lion.

'Makunku ndiri matambo, makunku ndiri matambo, Shamba wakutiga makwe malema, watala miso, winana, winana, Shamba wakutiga, winana, winana, watwala miso, winana.'

Naitagana ni mbesi nakolia 'Uwe, mbesi, kuoneli Shamba?' Mbesi niuga 'Shamba ukoli kusitu, walilia makupa ma nzogu alikile.' Nauga 'Kweni, ukutwale.' Mbesi niuga 'Ipa, ene pana nukupuputa, mkianya mwendai?' Nauga 'Nwipuputa inoino ino ikukula.' Niandia nipuputa. Kiali nigenda pansi, sunga napika kina Shamba wili, namgwi-la, nukoligwa 'Shamba, nutalamia niki miso make mama?' Nuga 'Nakanda, nguli.' Nulegeligwa nuwiyimba ukia:—

'Yi, mwamensa, anga ange, mwamensa, kuulya nguli, anga ange, mwamensa, kuulya lumbu, anga ange, mwamensa.'

Mkombi nusola miso makwe, nu mnanso nusola makopu makwe. Kalusimu mkombi wa Kialu nu mnanso wa Kialu.

V. THE STORY OF THE HYENA AND THE GIRL CHILD OF THE HYENA

A story. How does it go? The old woman and the girl.

The mother hyena was deceived by a girl hyena whose name was Shamba. The old woman had eyes, Shamba was blind, she had no eyes. (*Alutite*=*ali utite*. The verb "to be," *ali*, with past or perfect of *tita*, "to have." *Ali mgila*=verb "to be" with *gila*, to be without).

She met the old woman hyena, and said to her 'Mother, give me your eyes that I may go and bring for you meat and bones.' The old woman agreed and gave her, and the girl went away altogether and refused to return. Her grandchildren and children sought for her, singing:—

'Makunku ndiri matambo, makunku ndiri matambo, Shamba has run away, hers are crippled, she took the eyes, winana, winana, Shamba has run away, winana, winana, she has taken the eyes, winana.'

And they met with an (eagle?) and said 'You, eagle, have you seen Shamba for us?' The eagle said 'Shamba is at our place, she is eating the bones of an elephant that died.' They said 'Let us go, you take us.' The eagle said 'Now, if I fly above what will you do?' They said 'Fly slowly and pull us up.' And it began to fly. The hyenas (*Kialu*) went below till they arrived where Shamba was and they caught her and she was asked 'Shamba, why have you run away with the eyes of mother?' She said 'For nothing, brothers.' And she was deprived and sang her poverty:—

‘Yi, you have plucked me, *anga ange*, you have plucked me, I erred, brothers, *anga ange*, you have plucked me, I erred sisters, *anga ange*, you have plucked me.’

The old woman took her eyes, and the girl took her blindness.

The story of the old woman hyena, and the girl hyena.

Note :—The songs sung in this story—*Makunku ndiri matambo* in the first song, and *Anga ange* in the second song are not translated. The man who told the story said he did not know the meaning of the words at all.

VI. KALUSIMU WAKI MNAPUNDA NU NSIYA

Kalusimu kali. Kaukile’ki ?

Mnapunda ni nsiya ali kiswakia nagombia, “kwigeme makula.”

Nsiya nilumila ‘Ee.’ Mnapunda nuga ‘Kwipununtile m’kilimbili.’ Nugomba. Mnapunda nwindia kwingila, nsiya nisola masanzi nu moto nikila mu’mulomo wa kilimbili nupununtila sunga nukatala. Mnapunda nukolia ‘Wakatalane?’ Nuga ‘Ee.’ Nupuna, nuga ‘Ingila nunduwe.’ Ningila nsiya, mnangala nusola masanzi nulimba turu ilimbili, nusola moto nuikila nutia maluka nuipununtila, liuki nalingila muni, nsiya nikia nalisola mpembe zakwe alikua :—

‘Pelu pelu kapembe kamnasiya, kapembe wapembiligwa, kapembe kamnasiya kapembee.’

Walongola mwagana mkombi kulila nzogu, wauga ‘Mama, wilila yani?’ Wauga ‘Kulila nzogu zikulia masukuwi.’ ‘Inoino leta isukuwi limwi, utuwe ningile muni ulimbe, uwe ulege.’ Mkombi nusola nikulu nutuwa nuwingila mnangala ni pembe zakwe za nsiya, naziza nzogu unina numila, numila du. Nalikua impembe :—

‘Pelu, pelu, kapembe kamnansiya, kapembe wapembeligwa, kape-mbe kamnansiya, kapembee.’

Nzogu nazimanka nazuga ‘Wani nulilia? kwitaganga kulae nulilia.’ Nazitaganga nazigya mwake nina :—

‘Pelu, pelu, kapemba kamnansiya, kapembe wapembeligwa, kape-mbe kamnansiya, kapembee.’

Nazuga ‘Mama wililia.’ Nazikitambwila inkani ‘Adinye, kamuulage umama?’ Nagomba turu, namulaga namuona mnapunda nazuga

'Ipa, uwe mnapunda, umama ukakumlia ukumumala?' Nuga 'Ee.' 'Mlie inoino.' Nuga mnangara, 'Kuwasagya ine, tungili ululigi nende tena inkui kuwi.' Namagombe nutungwa luligi lulipu, nwenda kuwi nuonwa ni kialu, kialu nalugu limilume, mnangala nuga 'Bwane, ndeka, nzuu nikutungilie ululigi du, nikutwalile mu'nama naningi.' Kialu nigo-mba ku'laku wakwe. Kialu niuga 'Mnapunda, ipa tai?' Mnapunda numuila 'Tai tai ali kusoile nale pana umusuwamuane.' Mnangala numuila Kialu 'Ipa, uwe yudu udu, ene nene nikitambula kwakola nama.' Mnapunda nuiyitana 'Ndutii, kenkile uruto.' Manzogu namaluta namaone Kialu nazuga 'Uwe, kialu uwe, ukumulia umama umumale?'

Nuga 'Ee.' 'Ukilia mbasigwe kanga teleke?' Nuga 'Kulia mbisi, kiasilio m'daa.' Nuwilia, nuwikuta pu, nuga 'Twali ku'mazi.' Nwenda nukopa, nulukila mumo mu'kati, nushoka nuwilia. Mazogu nauga 'Adinye, wakopele kupelo nantende.' Nutwalwa nukopela kupelo nukuta pu, nuulya, nipaupipilo nuilwa 'Mnishango.' 'Yani?' 'Lila, kina ukulila u-u-u-wa-u-.' Nutanduka nukia.

Masala make punda.

VI. THE STORY OF THE HARE AND THE NSIYA (SMALL BUCK)

A story. How does it go?

A hare and a *nsiya* were friends and agreed 'Let us try cleverness.' The *nsiya* replied 'All right.' The hare said 'Let us go and smoke out the ant-hill holes.' And he agreed. The hare began to go inside and the *nsiya* took grass and fire and placed it in the mouth of the ant-hill and fanned it till he was tired. The hare said 'Are you tired?' And he said 'Yes.' And he came out and said 'You go in.' And the *nsiya* went inside and the hare took grass and stuffed up all the holes and took fire and placed it and he cut thick grass and fanned it, and the smoke went inside and the *nsiya* died, and he took his horns and blew them:—

'*Pelu, pelu*, the little horn of the little *nsiya*, the little horn, he has been deceived, the little horn of the little *nsiya kapembee*.*'

And he went and met with an old woman guarding (her field from) elephants, and said 'Mother, what are you guarding?' (*ku-lila*—to wait or attend to, and so guarding in the fields). She replied 'Guarding (from) elephants who eat the melons.' 'Bring at once a large melon and make a hole in it that I may go inside, and stop up the hole, and you go

*Cf. Junod *Chants et Contes des Baronga*, p. 91, and Jacottet, *Contes Populaires des Bassoutos*, p. 17.

away.' The old woman took a large one, and cut it, and the rabbit went inside with the horns of the *nsiya*, and the elephants came and their mother swallowed it, swallowed it absolutely. And he blew the horns : ' *Pelu pelu*, the little horn of the little *nsiya*, the little horn, he has been deceived, the little horn of the little *nsiya*, *kapembee*.'

The elephants ran away saying ' Who is crying ? Let us separate so that we may see who is crying.' And they separated and heard it inside the mother :—

' *Pelu, pelu*, the little horn of the little *nsiya*, the little horn, he has been deceived, the little horn of the little *nsiya*, *kapembee*.'

And they said ' The mother cries.' And they spoke together about it, ' You fellows, shall we kill the mother ? ' And they all agreed, and they killed her and saw the hare and they said ' Now, you hare, can you eat for us the mother and finish her ? ' He said ' Yes.' ' Eat her at once.' The rabbit said ' I want to roast it, you fasten me with rope, I go to cut firewood in the forest ! ' And they agreed and he was fastened with a long rope, and went to the forest and was seen by a hyena. The hyena made as if to bite (*nalugu* :—*uga* to say, but here used as—" to make as if "). The hare said ' I say, do not, come just let me fasten you with the rope that I may take you where there is a lot of meat.' The hyena consented because of his greed. The hyena said ' Hare, now is it true ? ' The hare replied ' Absolutely true, since when have we joked together as if you were my friend ? ' The hare said to the hyena, ' Now, you shut up, it is I who have the meat who shall speak.' Then the hare called ' Pull, use your strength.' Then the elephants pulled and they saw the hyena and said ' You, hyena, you, will you eat for us the mother and finish it ? '

He said ' Yes.' ' Shall you eat it raw or cooked ? ' He said ' I shall eat it raw, the cooking is in the stomach.' And he ate, and he was absolutely full, and he said ' Take me to the water.' And he went and drank, and he vomited in the middle, and he returned and ate. The elephants said, ' I say fellows, to-day, let him drink at the side.' And he was taken, and he drank at the side and he became full he could not find room even for breath and he was told ' Hyena.' ' What ? ' ' Cry, as you cry *u-u-wa-u*.*' And he split and died.

The cunning of the hare.

Note : *Pelu pelu*, the sound of the horn. *Kapembe*—a small horn, note the use of *ka*—diminutive. Also note what appears to be a play on words—*Kapembe wapembiligwa*.

**U-u-wa-u* imitates the cry of hyena.

VII. *KALUSIMU WAKI KARANZIGWA*

Kalusimu ? Kaukile'ki.

Msungu ali imbi numiagana nsato igwilile nsiya, niuga 'Nsato, mpela nsiya ndie, kanga ntuge mwana mgosha nikupela, na wamkima wane, ilindile wingi nize ntuge namgosha.' Yakonda, nupelwa nsiya. Sunga nutuga mgosha, nsato nienda nalomba 'Pela nama yane.' Msungu nuga 'Tulya kwapune kunzi.' Yalongola yashoka kukaa kumwakwe. Yaza kangi kaubili 'Pela inama yane siyapunane?' Nuga 'Kwagure.' Sunga niza nu lutondo lwa utatu niulwa 'Kwagende.' Sunga nugenda, naliza 'Naza pela inama yane.' Nuga 'Ukutili, wenda kudima, lenda wime kukilua nikakumtuma ndaru.' Sunga wiz akwidima nina nuga 'Karanzigwa, lenda kukilua usole ndaru.' Nwenda nuyimba 'Ngong'o uwe zi ndetela ndaru.' Ngong'o waleta, wapelwa watwala kwaki nina. Nsato yaporoka yamwagana unina, wagana lalega, niuga 'Mwana wako su msugu gwa di!' 'Lenda kumwako, mdau ukakumwagana kwidima utite mpogo mikono turu.'

Yakonda, mdau yenda yamwagana walegagya sagagya lumwi, ulua wampela msuamua, walikolia 'Ewe Karanzigwa?' Nne naliuga 'A a, ishye kwi ana aki lupogo lumwi.' Yashoka yenda kwaki nina yauga 'Namuulagya, naagana ana aki lupogo lumwi.' Nina nuga 'Tulya kawaze, lenda kuluzi ine, nikienda kuluzi niwe kata nimtume waza shola, uwe linge mkata yane.' Waza Karanzigwa, 'Lenda usole kata kuluzi aza nia-gua.' Lamwita msuamua 'Kila, kweni kuluzi kwende shola kata yaki mau, aza mwiwe, sola nu uta.' Sunga apika Karanzigwa wauga, 'Aligwa mbwane, kumidilye kata yaki mau.' Msuamua waguma yakila nsonga, uyo waguma lalasa, yalinguka, yaikinga lamitiga nsato, yenda kwaki nina, yauga 'Mwana wako msugu adi!' 'Lenda, kashee waze ukakumumua matumbi, nakwagana wiyagana kukagumile kumpelo.' Shee waza wamumua, shee wagona lauka lamumua wishee, wasola matumbi maki shee wimatila lagona pakati. Yaza n'utiku yaliapatia, nwagana matumbi makoli, nuapatia kumpelo nuulia matumbi nuga 'Wayu.' Numilwa wishee! Mdau nawela nina nuga 'Nantende Karanzigwa watwalagwa!' Nawela nina nuga 'Katepie mazi nimpele wishwao wakalale.' Wampela lakalala, washoka kangi kumbele, watepia magai, nina wauga 'Uka shee, ukope magai.' Lakopa, liyasola uta ni nsonga ni ndirima, nina nulega nwenda shia ugali. Karanzigwa lapuna panzi liyauga matumbi 'Lagalalagala.' Amwone Karanzigwa, matumbi lalagala turu, unina nukuta 'U u wishee uyo wamilagwa, Karanzigwa tuyu ukoli!' Wakulinga wagana mongo wijuwile, likola guwe nsonga zikola makota, turu nu uta ni ndirima, nuza nilikenka, nuga 'Kanga aza nimwone aza

azile kumtula.' Nuguma nutambukia kwitumbi, Karanzigwa nuga 'Wamputya.' Nusola nu uta nuga 'Kota kumkwila.' Nuga 'Waputilya nu uta.' Nuguma ni ndirima, nuga kota, naliuga 'Waputya ni ndirima.' Nuguma ni nsonga, lauga 'Waputilya ni nsonga.' Nina nushoka kukaa, ilo nalilongola nalikolia nzila nilunzye kwintanantani, nalimwagana mdimi nalikolia 'Ndagila nzila nilunzye kwintanantani.' Mdimi nuga 'Lenda paso, pana ikopa nturu.' Nwenda 'Inye namwikopa nturu, ndagili nzila nilunzye kwintanantani.' 'Lenda ukolie paso pana ikiswa isolu.' 'Inye adinye namkiswa solo, ndagili nzila nilunzye kwintanantani.' 'Lenda mkolie mkombi uyo nwakonko.' 'Mama, ndagila nzila nilunzye kwintanantani.' 'Pipa ti nkonko nikulagile.' Lapipa kuwa lapunia kana ka mbua 'Tipo tanantani, mpela mwana mbua wane.' 'Sikakupela, pana napipa konko nalongola kwintanantani, pana wandagila du.' Lapika mtemi lauga 'Munu, nudima utugwa.' 'Lina uwe wani, pana sikukwizi?' 'Nene Karanzigwa.' 'Kalansagwa, kakuletele ndia.' Naletelwa nalia lyakikala numo nalidima mitugo, akola numba auga 'Karanzigwa uyu msugu nanguru kuloge wakia mtemi.' Naliugile kumloge yaki kunguma ni pua 'Ndisye kwishala.' Naliuga 'A a, nene nisala.' 'Uwe siwisala, pana umwinze.' Karanzigwa nuga 'Ine kulinzye kolia pakigila kyaki shekuli, pana mwene aliumbwilile.' Ipua nauga 'Ee kweni kukolie mdau nawela.' Nalienda kwidima nalikuwa malimbu, pandi nankulu, nalienda nalishimbila kumisago ya kibila yaki shekulu wakwe. Mdau nzia nauga ipua 'Kweni nantende kukolie kukibila kwaki shekulu.' Naenda, Karanzigwa nuga 'Kinitie mbele, inye namwaipua.' Nwandya namkulu, nukinitia 'Shekulu, wani wishala?' Nalidu. Nukila nina mnino 'Shekulu, wani washala?' Nalidu. 'Kila nunduwe Karanzigwa.' Nukinintia 'Di di di, wani wishala?' 'Siyalimbugile wishala Karanzigwa, ne angamsale inye mwikia turu.' Nwiuga malimbu. Ipua auga 'Salagwa Karanzigwa.' Liyasala. Ipua nauga 'Karanzigwa wasalile niki pana mwinziua? Kumloge wakie.' Mdau nuswaga mitugo, mbua numileka, nauga 'Ikile ulogi m'ugali wamkio, wa mnungu leki.' Naikila ulogi, nuswagila, mbua niuga 'Shekulu nsunsulilia kuileile.' Nusunsulia nimipela niuga 'Ugali lia wa mnungu, leka wa mkio.' Pembele nauga 'Adinye! nzuili mwana mbua wakwe ukumuila, kakuangi.' Nakakuanga nakataga. Nuleta nakauga 'Shekulu, ine nimkuwangwa kwatagwa, sunsulila nukuileile.' Ugali lia wa nkio, wa mnungu leka.' Nuga 'Iya azambulagilia ni mbua yane iza.' Mdau nawela nuswaga ni ana a ngombe. Nu mwana mbua wakwe, mpindi nalaila du, nalongola namtiata, na msuma nunia nibigiri nashyokela ilatu, naaza nipaso, nakila na msuma nunia mongo wijuwile de, tondo zitano, nakila, sunga na msuma, nunia konko nkulu teleletelele, nainankila muntu nugua nakia. Turu amui nalemwa nashoka kushao, nutwala ngombe.

VII. THE STORY OF KARANZIGWA*

A story? Let it come.

There was a woman and she was with child, and she met a python who had caught a small buck, she said 'Python, give me that buck that I may eat, and if I bear a man-child I will give him to you, and if it is a female it's mine; you wait till I bear another male.' Then she was given the buck. When she bore a male child the python came and begged 'Give me my meat.' The woman said 'Wait till we come outside.' Then it went away to its home. It came the second time 'Give me my meat, have you not come out?' 'Let him creep (first).' Then he went, and he came: 'I have come, give me my meat.' She said 'He is not here, he has gone to herd (the flocks) go and stand among the flowers (or cotton) and I will send him to get some *ndaru*' (a sort of grass used as a vegetable). When he came from herding the mother said 'Karanzigwa, go to the flowers and bring some *ndaru*.' And he went and sang '*Ngo-ng'o* (a sort of very large flying beetle) you, please bring me some *ndaru*.' And the *Ngo-ng'o* brought it and he received it and took it to his mother. Then the python came and met the mother and found him gone, and it said 'Your son is a very clever person, I am surprised!' (*Gwa di*.—This is very difficult to translate, but is an expression of extreme astonishment). 'Go to your home, tomorrow you shall meet him herding wearing bracelets on both arms.'

Then the next day he went and met him, he had taken off one bracelet and only left one, the other he had given to his friend, and he (python) asked him 'Are you Karanzigwa?' And he replied 'No, we are the sons of One bracelet.' And it returned and went to his mother and said 'I have missed him, I met the sons of One bracelet.' The mother said 'Wait, he shall come, I am going to the well, and when I go to the well I shall leave my *kata* (a half calabash used for scooping up water—often fastened to a long stick to reach down into the well) behind and I will send him to bring it, and you coil inside my *kata*.' Karanzigwa came 'Go and bring my *kata* from the well, I forgot it.' And he called his friend (Note—instead of the ordinary prefix for a person *a*, *la* is used thus placing this strange boy in the monstrous class as a person out of the ordinary). 'Come on, let us go to the well to bring my mother's *kata* she has forgotten it, bring your bow as well.' When they arrived, Karanzigwa said 'I say you chap, let us aim at my mother's *kata*. His friend shot and the arrow passed, then he shot and it hit, and it uncoiled

*The Yao *Kalikalanje*, Nyanja *Kachirambe*.

and it was chased (?) and the python got away and went to his mother and said 'I say, your son is cunning.' 'Go, when the father comes he shall cut off his hair for him, and when we go to sleep you shall find him, we shall push him into the corner.' The father came and they cut off his (Karanzigwa's) hair and the father slept, he (Karanzigwa) got up and shaved his father and took his hair and stuck it on (his own head) and lay down in the middle. Then he (python) came at night and felt and found them with hair, and it felt in the corner (or aside) and there was no hair and he said 'This is he.' And it swallowed the father. Next morning the mother said 'To-day, Karanzigwa has been taken.' In the morning the mother said 'I will draw water and give to our father (or master) that he may wash.' And she gave him and he washed and she returned again to the front and she drew some beer, and the mother said 'Get up master, drink some beer.' And he (Karanzigwa) drank and took his bow and arrows and spear, and the mother left and went to grind (for food). Karanzigwa came outside and said to the hair 'Get off, get off.' And she saw Karanzigwa, all the hair was off and the mother cried 'Oh! oh! the master has been swallowed, Karanzigwa himself is here.' And she chased him and they came to a river and it was full and he (Karanzigwa) became a stone, and they all became trees, the bow and arrows and spear. And she came and picked him up and said 'If I had seen him I would have beaten him.*' And she threw (the stone to show how she would have beaten him) to the other side of the river. Karanzigwa said 'You have put me across.' (The stone turns into Karanzigwa as soon as it is thrown across—then the woman proceeds to pick up the bow, arrows and spears thinking they are sticks, and as soon as they are thrown across they change from sticks into the bow, arrows and spear again). And she took the bow and said 'A tree (or stick) to hit him with.' He said 'You have put over the bow.' And she threw the spear thinking it was a stick, and he said 'You have put over the spear.' And she threw the arrows, and he said 'You have put over the arrows also.' Then the mother returned home, but he, he went and asked the road to go on into the country, and he met a herdsman and asked him 'Show me the road that I may go into the country.' The herdsman said 'Go there where they are drinking beer.' And he went. 'You who are drinking beer, show me the road that I may go into the country.' 'Go and ask there where they are playing *isolo* (a game called *mbao* in Swahili).' 'You fellows, who are playing *solo*, show me the road that I may go into the country.' 'Go and ask the old woman with the sore.' 'Mother, show me the road

*The Zulu *Cakijana* turns himself into a stone and gets thrown across a river by his pursuers. The same incident is elsewhere related of the hare.

that I may go into the country.' 'First suck the sore and I will show you.' And he sucked very much and there came out a small child of a dog. 'There, (is) the country, give me my puppy.' 'I will not give it you, I sucked the sore. I go into the country, just show me.' Then he came to the chief and said 'Here I look for a place to stay.' 'What is your name, because I do not know you?' 'I am Karanzigwa.' 'Sit down here and I shall bring you food.' And (food) was brought to him, and he ate, and he remained there and herded the flocks. The owners of the house said 'This Karanzigwa is very very cunning, let us prepare witchcraft so that the chief will die.' And he talked about the witchcraft, and argued with the nephews (the nephew inherits by right) 'We shall inherit.' And he said 'No, I will inherit.' 'You will not inherit because you are a stranger.' Karanzigwa said 'I will go and ask at the grave of the uncle, because he himself told me.' The nephews said 'Yes, let us go to-morrow morning.' And he went to herd and he struck down a *malimbu*, a large grasshopper, and he went and dug it in at the head of the grave of his uncle. Next morning the nephews said 'Come to-day let us go and ask at the grave of the uncle.' And they went and Karanzigwa said 'Pass first you nephews.' And the eldest passed in and knocked 'Uncle, who inherits?' And there was silence. And the young mother passed in 'Uncle who inherits?' And there was silence. 'You go in, Karanzigwa.' And he knocked '*Di di di*, Who inherits?' 'Did I not say Karanzigwa inherits? If you inherit you shall all die.' And the grasshopper made a noise. And the nephews said 'Inherit, Karanzigwa.' And he inherited. The nephews said 'Why has Karanzigwa inherited and he is stranger? Let us bewitch him so that the may die.' Next morning, he sent out the cattle to herd and left his dog behind, and they said 'Let us put the charm into the food in the platter, leave it alone in the cooking pot.' And they put in the charm, and they sent out to herd. The dog said 'Uncle, milk for me and I will tell you.' And he milked and gave him and he said 'Eat the food from the cooking pot, leave that in the platter.' Afterwards, they said 'Fellows, perhaps his pup told him, let us beat it.' And they beat it and threw it out. And he brought it and it said 'Uncle, I have been beaten and thrown out, milk for me and I will tell you.' 'The food in the platter eat, that in the cooking pot leave.' And he said 'They are killing my dog, very well.' The next morning, he sent out the calves and cattle. And the young dog in the evening it watched only, and they came to follow him, and when they drew near he evacuated thorns and they took off their sandals and put them right (the thorns having got in to their feet between the sandals and the soles of their feet—a common occurrence) and they passed and when they drew near it evacuated a river very very full—five days, and they passed, then when they

drew near he evacuated a very large and slippery hill and they climbed and one fell and died. All of them were beaten and they returned to their place and he took the cattle.

ENIGMAS

Before each enigma, the propounder says *Lalilali*, and the reply is *Lali*.

	Reply.
1. Kome ya mtemi Teleletelele.	Nzoku.
2. Nagumila kome mluzi nauga " Mkulu Punilya."	Mlandu.
3. Kamilo ya mwanawane ipiyani ni ya mwana wako.	Gii la kuku.
4. Likidima linene.	Nzua.
5. Likidimila mwana a nkolo.	Mweli.
6. Kibila kya mtemi kiboronkanu.	Nkata.
7. Luka la mugu limligano.	Nsii na gulu.
8. Walima mgunda mkulu, wapulila m'mkono.	Matumbi.
9. Nalitungile.	Sagi.
10. Kusyani utu, nu Kunsitu utu.	Mau.
11. Kankasaga kumunimuni.	Nsui ni mbuli.
12. Kisunta kakua mpongoro.	Mlogi wa utiku.
13. Gondo la minasa.	Tandu.
14. Gogorogogoro mkunza wikomela'pi ?	Kilaumbi pana ukilile.
15. Wagenda nsii namkulu waulya ka mgulu	Pampa nikulu.
16. Mlundi waki noko mnonunonu.	Nsali ya makuta.
17. Kua mbula nu lulu lipapo.	Mpula.
18. Wapilima ku'kituru wagana noko kulu kikua nendu.	Mono.
19. Mnaturu win'genile.	Mpuma ya m'konko.

VIII ENIGMAS

Reply.

1. The stick of the chief is very slippery. A snake.
2. I throw my stick in the well, and say,
 " Father, help me out (redeem me)." Debt, or fine for an offence.
(This refers to the time when fines were exacted for murder, etc. In this case the man is unable to pay and asks help from his elder).
3. The food calabash of my child is like
 that of your child. A fowl's egg.
4. It herds by itself. The sun.
5. It herds with the young sheep. The moon (and stars).
6. The grave of the chief is circular and
 has a hole in it. Pad used for putting on the head when carrying a load.
7. The leaves of the palm are alike or all
 together. Earth and air.
8. He cultivates a large plantation, and
 gathers in one hand. Hair, when you shave your head.
9. As it was dressed (from birth). A fly (never undresses).
10. At my home it is flour (or powder) and
 at your home it is flour. Ashes.
11. It comes in suddenly, but with the
 movements of a caterpillar. A leopard and goat.
12. The *kisunta* (a small bird) knocks on
 the cattle pen. A wizard at night.
13. The gum on the *Mnasa* tree. Smallpox.
14. *Gogorogogoro* (swish of a hide dress)
 when the hide is beaten ? (i.e. what
 does it say ?) When a whirlwind passes by. (That is, you might as well ask what a whirlwind says.)
15. You go over a large country, but miss
 foot (marks). A large stone (on which you leave no tracks).
16. The shin of the mother is smooth
 and fat. A calabash of *ghee*.

17. It rains and the cave is here. The nose.
18. You go to the back of the house and find your grandmother cutting fire-wood. Castor-oil plant (refers to the cracking of the castor-oil seeds caused by the hot sun. Often found round about houses).
19. The Mnyaturu (a member of the neighbouring tribe) is narrow in the waist. A monkey of the hills.
- (Refers to the custom of the Wanyaturu of wrapping round and round their waists when young, yards and yards of fine cord which constricts their waists, often till they are extraordinarily narrow in the waist—like a monkey).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions with descriptive notes. Photographic Studies by A. M. Duggan-Cronin, and Introductory Articles on tribes. Cambridge : Deighton Bell & Co. Ltd., Kimberley (South Africa): Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum. Three numbers, £1 1s. 0d. each.

We desire to draw special attention to this series of which three sections have been published as follows :—

Vol. I. Section I. The Bavenda, 20 plates. The introductory article is by Professor G. P. Lestrade of the University of Pretoria, formerly Ethnologist in the Union Department of Native Affairs.

Vol. II. Section I. The Suto-Chwana Tribes—sub-group I, the Bechuana, 26 Plates. The introductory article is also by Professor Lestrade.

Vol. II. Section II. The Suto-Chwana Tribes—sub-group II, Bapedi (Transvaal Basuto), 26 Plates. The introductory article is by Dr. Werner Eiselen, Lecturer in Social Anthropology in the University of Stellenbosch.

The photographs are not only exceptionally good in themselves but they are also excellent presentations of varying physical types and of tribal life. Mr. Duggan-Cronin's capacity as a photographer is well-known, but he has now revealed himself as a very competent ethnological observer with quite unusual gifts of sympathy and understanding which enable him to secure the confidence of the Natives. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has rendered a service of great importance to anthropology by enabling Mr. Duggan-Cronin to make these photographic observations before it is too late, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the series will be completed at an early date.

The introductory articles are short monographs on Bantu life and within the space at their disposal the authors have managed to give a clear if very general description of the fabric of Bantu social organisation. At any rate, they enable the reader to appreciate very much more fully the pictures which follow and their short explanatory notes. All three

articles are haunted by the shadow of European contacts and are in themselves proof of the urgent need for ethnographical surveys in the Union.

The bibliographies show Dr. Schapera's habitually careful work and are of real assistance to both the general reader and the student.

We warmly commend these volumes to all interested in Native life ; and they should be in every South African Library.

R.J.

English-Nuer Dictionary, by P. Ray Huffman. London : (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1931, 5/- net).

This little book would better have been styled a Vocabulary, as it contains but little over 2000 words. The author hopes for an enlargement of both this and the "Nuer-English" when the unified orthography, upon which Dr. A. N. Tucker has been working, is finally fixed. Meanwhile the author has wisely employed the symbols agreed upon at the Rejaf Conference of 1928. It is a great pity that the symbol *ö* was decided upon instead of *ə* for the neutral vowel. The vocabulary is followed by a few notes on Grammar : these could well have been considerably enlarged, and the author might have made her rules more explicit. The student is left very much in the air as to what governs plural formation, nor is the author any clearer in her remarks upon "case." It seems that there is a relative form of nouns used to express possessive relationship and also used after prepositions. The correspondence between the pronominal suffixes used in the verb conjugation and the forms of the pronouns themselves is very striking, as is the significance of auxiliary verbs used in tense formation.

A great deal of valuable work could be done on Nuer Grammar, and it should be pointed out that the grammatical note to this publication is identical with that appended to the "Nuer-English Dictionary" published in 1929. It is to be hoped that the author will develop her researches in this direction.

C. M. DOKE.

Africa. Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. London : Oxford University Press. Issued quarterly. Annual subscription 22/- post free.

All serious workers in Africa have come to regard the Journal of the International Institute as an essential tool, while the Institute itself is steadily—if somewhat slowly at first—proving its value as a

co-ordinating agency, covering African field studies in linguistics, anthropology, administration and law. In addition to the authoritative articles which appear in the journal, it also contains helpful and somewhat full notices of current publications on Africa, and bibliographical lists. One is frequently asked to suggest books which will help missionaries and others who wish to keep abreast of the rapid developments in African studies: *Africa* should be placed first on the list, for so will the reader keep himself informed of publications as they appear and also of current thought in African studies. A recognised "first charge" on the funds in every mission station should be the subscriptions to such journals as *Africa*, *International Review in Missions* and *Bantu Studies*.

R.J.

